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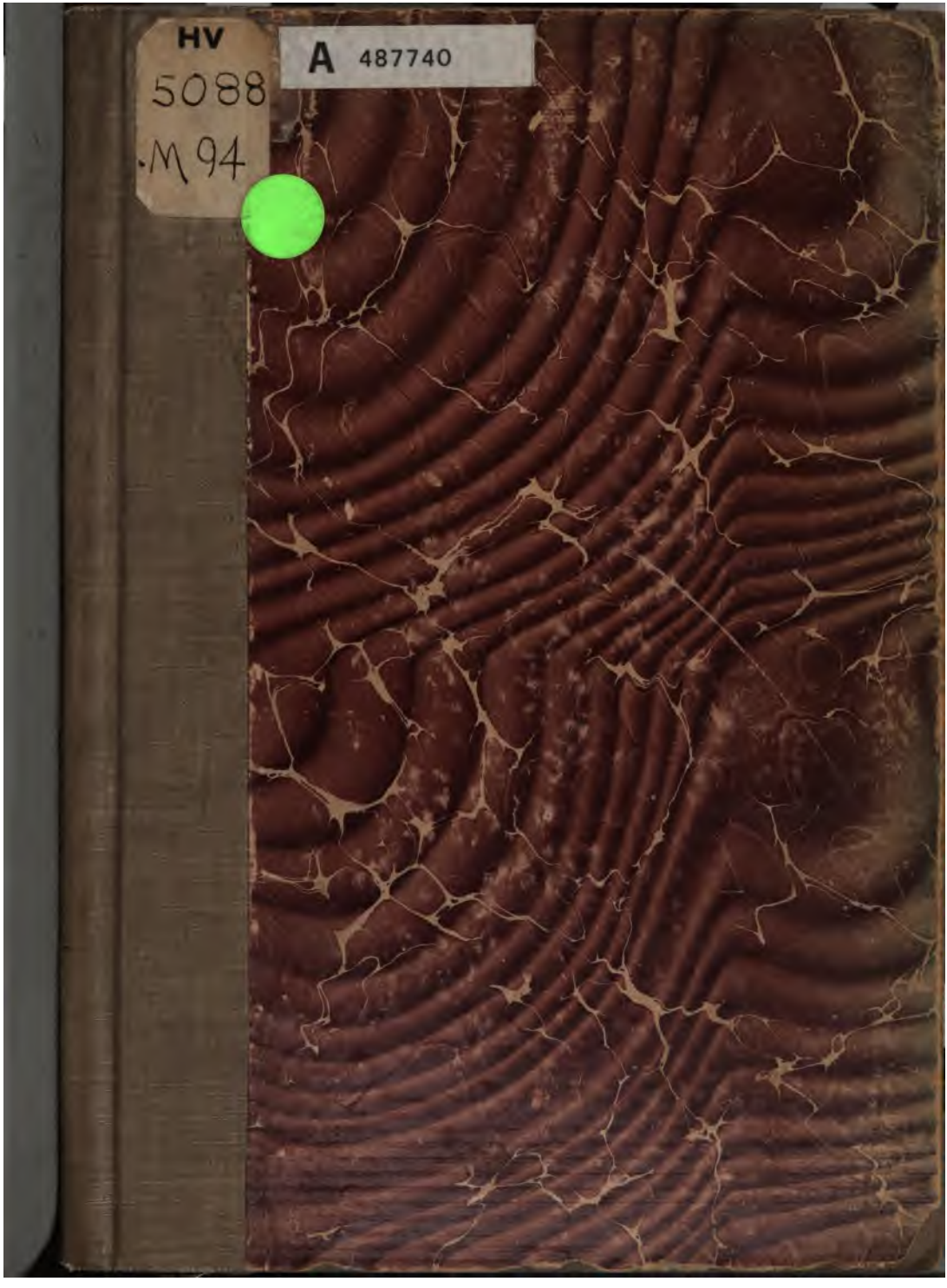

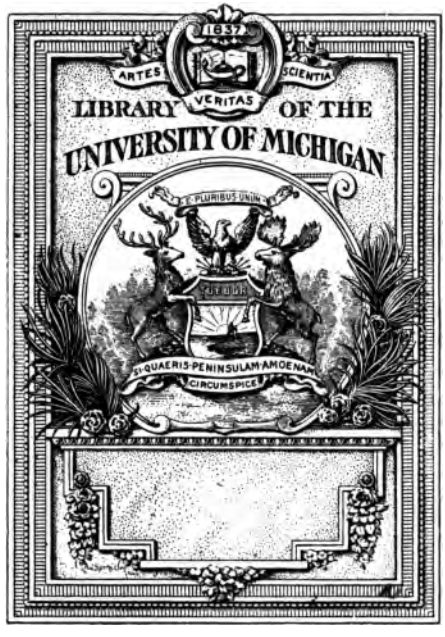
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MISTAKES

— OF —

PROHIBITIONISTS.

— BY —

JOHN MUDIE.

"GOD COMMANDS US TEMPERANCE, YET POURS OUT BEFORE US, EVEN TO PROFUSENESS, ALL DESIRABLE THINGS, AND GIVES US MINDS THAT CAN WANDER BEYOND ALL LIMIT AND SATIETY. WHY, THEN, SHOULD WE AFFECT A RIGOR CONTRARY TO THE MANNER OF GOD AND OF NATURE, BY ABRIDGING OR SCANTING THOSE MEANS WHICH ARE FOR THE TRIAL OF VIRTUE AND THE EXERCISE OF TRUTH?"—*Milton.*

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1889.

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PREFACE.

Knowledge of truth ought to do more good than harm. Error leads towards destruction; truth leads us to the enjoyment of the highest good. Our Saviour's mission on earth, as He told Pilate, was to bear witness unto truth; one of the most profound thinkers of modern times says that the inquiry after truth, the knowledge of truth, and the belief of truth constitute the sovereign good of human nature; and one of the best of poets says: "Let truth and falsehood grapple. Who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?" In other words, let truth have fair play and she will assert herself. Under the influence of the Divine example and of these precepts, one feels encouraged to brave prejudice and give reasons for believing that attempts to suppress the use of intoxicating liquors by means of legislative enactments are based upon mistakes, and not only fail to accomplish their object, but give rise to greater evils than those they are intended to suppress. While Prohibitionists profess to act upon their motto, "Sow the State knee-deep with temperance literature," they draw attention to the comparative scarcity of either spoken or written replies by claiming that those whom they assail have but little to say for themselves. There is, therefore, the less need of an apology for the following attempt to show that truth exists on the side which is opposed to their views.

MISTAKES OF PROHIBITIONISTS.*

PHYSIOLOGICAL ERRORS.

The underlying error of Prohibitionists, that error upon which they build their most plausible reasons for looking to legal means for the suppression of the liquor traffic, is the view they take of the nature of intoxicating liquors, and of the effects of those liquors upon the system of the moderate drinker.

As barley and rye are food, and as the valuable qualities of these and other grains are extracted by the process of brewing and distilling, it is reasonable to believe that the liquids into which they are converted by those processes are likewise food, and that the danger arising from the drinking of them lies, not in any pernicious quality of the liquor, but in the readiness with which it may be taken to excess.

It is known that poison destroys the system, that food sustains it, and therefore that poison is not food; yet Prohibitionists claim, without supplying any chemical evidence in favor of their contention, that in the course of the manufacture of alcoholic, and even of fermented, liquors, such radical changes take place as to deprive those products of every food property, and turn them into poisons. They try to prove this claim by referring to such instances as that a dog was killed by the injection of a large quantity of alcohol into its stomach, and that a man who drank several quarts of brandy died on the spot; but such instances prove only that alcohol will kill, not that it is a poison.

Life-sustaining oxygen might as easily be proved to be a poison, for oxygen in excess is as fatal as strychnine. No one doubts that a violent disturbance of the organic functions may

*The writer has compiled parts of the following essay, without acknowledgment, partly from works that are inaccessible to the general reader and partly from the literature of our daily press.

cause death, and it must be admitted that overdoses of alcohol may cause such disturbances; but such disturbances may be caused by overdoses of solid food, overdoses of oxygen, overdoses of heat, and overdoses of other things, in themselves beneficial.

The argument from excess, then, is valid as to cases of excess only; it is worthless as against moderate use. Prohibitionists overlook the fact that quantitative differences produce qualitative differences; that differences in the quantity used produce differences in the kinds of effect; and when they say, that because an excessive use of intoxicating liquor may cause death, they are justified in claiming, further, that the habitual use of those liquors in smaller quantities, if sufficiently prolonged, will ultimately be attended by consequences prejudicial to the human system, we may ask, On what grounds are they justified?

It must be on grounds which would justify them in saying, the poisonous character of oxygen in excessive doses is a fact established by science, and the habitual use of smaller quantities will produce the same result; therefore refrain from breathing, for oxygen is a constituent of the air we breathe; avoid heat, for excess of heat destroys the organism; shrink from eating meat, for an excessive use of meat is fatal; in fact you must not eat anything, physicians having proved that more diseases arise from overeating than from any other single cause, and what is true of excess is true in a proportionate degree of moderation. Such reasoning is absurd; nor can they cite the name of any physician of national reputation who has ever inculcated their views on this question.* They have made, and still make, great use of a prize essay which the late Dr. W. B. Carpenter wrote many years ago on the physiology of temperance; but the author of that work was a moderate drinker, and in the same essay there is the following statement: "A small quantity of alcoholic liquor, diluted by the fluids already in the stomach, appears to produce only a quick-

* Sir James Paget, M.D., has pointed out that the opinions of the medical profession are, by a vast majority, in favor of moderation, as opposed to abstinence; and Prof. Berney says that, for every medical man of distinction in favor of total abstinence, he can point to twenty *against it.*

ening of the circulation and a temporary exaltation of the functional activity of the organ, as shown in the increase of appetite and digestive power." And in another essay he stated, in effect, that for a certain class of people a glass of bitter ale taken with the principal meal of the day aids nutrition and does more good and less harm than any medicine the physician can prescribe.*

Prohibitionists claim the celebrated physiologist Liebig, also, as an ally. They quote with triumph his statement that "as much flour or meal as can lie on the point of a table-knife is more nutritious than several quarts of the best Bavarian beer;" but in this instance Liebig used the word "nutritious" in reference to nutrition of tissue, and not the nutrition of nervous force.

Let a man be hungry or weary, with but little food and a large amount of work to do, and then let him try how much assistance he would get from the pinch of meal; what assistance he would get from even one glass of beer is well known. Liebig was opposed to total abstinence, and in one of his works wrote as follows: "As a restorative, a means of refreshment where the powers of life are exhausted, of giving animation and energy where man has to struggle with days of sorrow, as a means of correction and compensation where misproportion occurs in nutrition and the organism is deranged in its operations, and as a means of protection against transient organic disturbances, wine is surpassed by no product of nature or of art. The quantity of wine consumed on the Rhine by persons of all ages, without perceptible injury to their mental and bodily health, is hardly credible. Gout and calculous diseases are nowhere more rare than in the district of the Rhinegau. In no part of Germany are apothecaries' establishments less prosperous than in the rich cities on the Rhine, for there wine is the universal medicine of the healthy as well as the sick; it is considered as milk for the aged."†

It is not contended that spirituous and fermented liquors contain all the necessary food constituents. The body requires

* See Scottish Review, No. 1, page 24.
† *Letters on Chemistry*, page 454.

nitrogen; but those liquors do not contain nitrogen, and hence they alone cannot support life; but neither can starch nor oil, and yet each of these substances is a valuable food ingredient. Some physiologists have stated that all the alcohol imbibed passes from the system unchanged; but further and more skillful experiments have shown that only a very small quantity of alcohol remains unchanged, the greater part being burnt up in the body; and observations on people in old age or afflicted with disease, conditions which should make them peculiarly susceptible to the pernicious effects of poison, show that life can be supported for a long time on a diet which contains little but pure spirits and water, the alcohol being food.

Food may be considered under three aspects. 1st, it repairs the waste of tissue consequent on the wear and tear of life; 2d, it furnishes fuel for respiration, the main source of animal heat; and 3d, under both of these heads it is the generator of force. Food, of whatever kind, is ultimately translated into force. Force, then, is the end and aim of food. Is more required to prove that alcohol is food? Are not all physiologists united in the opinion that alcohol gives force? One of the most eminent of consulting physicians recently published a letter to the effect that "alcohol, as an element of diet, and when used in moderate quantity, is a highly economical force generator, a fuel that is fit to burn for the support of the system, without any previous preparation by the digestive organs, and for the majority of mankind, especially for all who are engaged either in brain work or in physical work of an arduous character, particularly in such as requires quickness and concentration, its moderate and reasonable use is highly conducive to excellence and vigor." He stated, also, "that a teetotaler would probably be capable of more work, or of work of better quality, if he were to consume less solid food and to make up for the deficiency by a proper quantity of alcohol."* Upon such strong testimony as we have cited in favor of the medicinal and the food qualities of beer, of wine and of alcohol, it is clear: 1st, that those liquors are food, and not

*Dr. Jenner, in *London Times* of August 11th, 1884.

poison; 2d, that a moderate use of them is not injurious, but beneficial.

The ill effects of liquor drinking are caused not by moderate, but by excessive, indulgence. But, say Prohibitionists, the effect of alcohol is only temporary, and moderate indulgence must lead to excess.

While replying to this, it must be admitted that the effect is temporary, that moderation oils the hinges of the gate leading to excess, and that the only absolute safeguard against taking too much liquor is to take none; but, at the same time, truth requires the further admissions that every kind of food is only temporary in its effects, and that to say there is any necessary connection between moderation and excess is to ignore physiology and to deny the accuracy of the experience of every moderate drinker. Men take their pint of beer or pint of wine daily for a series of years; this dose daily produces its effect; and if at any time it be increased—if thirst or society induces them to drink a quart instead of a pint,—they are at once made aware of the excess. Men drink one or two cups of tea or coffee at breakfast with unvarying regularity for a whole life-time; but who has ever felt the necessity of gradually increasing the amount to three, four or five cups? Yet we know what a stimulant tea is; we know that treble the amount of our daily consumption would induce paralysis. Why are we not irresistibly led to this fatal excess? The reason is physiological: the tissue consumed to-day is not the tissue consumed yesterday; the nerve particles stimulated into activity to-day will not be living to-morrow when fresh stimulus is applied. Change, incessant change, is the law of our being. Fresh food renewing fresh tissue for fresh stimulus. Here, again, the distinction between moderation and excess is to be noticed. In the one case the new tissue will be similar to the old, and being similar, will exhibit similar susceptibility. In the other case there will be imperfect tissue; the original conditions of nutrition are so impaired that the organism does not manifest its former susceptibility, and to get the old amount of force you must apply an intenser stimulus. What may be truly claimed is that, although moder-

ation does sometimes lead to excess, there is no necessity for the sequence, and that a moderate and proper use of fermented and of spirituous liquors, especially in our trying American climate, is not injurious, but, on the contrary, is beneficial.

LEGISLATIVE ERRORS.

Prohibitionists deny that good effects can attend the moderate use of intoxicating liquors, and they constantly dwell on the bad effects of excess. In every lecture they deliver, and in every pamphlet they issue, it is either declared or assumed that the liquor traffic is an unqualified evil, one which it is impossible to exaggerate, and then they claim that it is the duty of the Federal and State Legislatures to suppress the traffic. But to tell us that an evil exists, and to show us the proper remedy for that evil, are very different things. Admitting, for the sake of argument, that liquor drinking is the evil Prohibitionists say it is, it still remains for them to show us that law can give an effectual remedy, and a remedy that would be advisable, even if it could be made effectual.* Their opinion evidently is that it is the duty of the Legislature to prohibit everything that is wrong;† but just as their views as to the effects of moderate drinking are opposed by every good physiologist, so their opinion about legislative interference on this question is crude and opposed even to the elementary principles which should guide legislatures in the passing of laws.

An able jurist has said: "It is amazing that there should be no other state of life, no other occupation, art or science, in which some method of instruction is not looked upon as requisite, except only the science of legislation, the noblest and most difficult of any. In every system of law, both of ancient and modern times, in all parts of the world and in all

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*Prohibitionists make the mistake which logicians call the fallacy of the *ignoratii elenchi*, the fallacy which Demosthenes exposed in his reply to Æschines, when he sa of an argument of that orator, διαμαρτάνοι τοῦ πράγματος ("he misses the point; admitt what he says, it does not apply to the question").

†"Probably the jurisprudence of no civilized nation ever attempted so wide a ran of duties for any of its judicial tribunals as to try to enforce natural justice."—*Sto Equity Juris., Chap. 1.*

stages of national development, the primary division of law defines the nature, functions and limitations of the governing authority." *

Prohibitionists seem to have yet to learn that a man has a legal right to do many things that are morally wrong. He has a legal right to doubt the existence of God; to indulge in hatred, envy, avarice and hypocrisy; to believe in free love, piracy and anarchy, and to be and to do many other things that are morally wrong, so long as he does no wrong to his fellow-men of which legal cognizance should be taken; and the difficulty, frequently, is to determine at what point and to what extent law should interfere with individual liberty in order to protect the rights of the public. One guiding principle in the solution of this difficulty has been said to be the distinction between vices and crimes. A vice may be defined to be a harm done by a man to himself in the pursuit of sensuous pleasure. Gluttony and drunkenness are vices. A crime may be defined to be a wrong or an injury done intentionally by one man to the person or property of another, without just cause or excuse. Murder and theft are crimes. Vices do far more harm to the human race than crimes do. Vices are the parent of crimes, but men should not punish him who indulges in vice until he unjustifiably involves another in his wrong. When the hatred shows itself in a personal assault, a punishable offense has been committed; but mere hatred, though it incites to crime, cannot be punished. Every civilized nation legislates against crimes. No nation has ever successfully legislated against vice; that task must be left to the conscience, under the teachings of the Church, and of social influences.†

Prohibitionists say: You legislate against theft, slavery, forgery, nuisances, brothels, betting-houses, lotteries, etc., and

* Blackstone's Commentaries.

† Sumptuary laws have been enacted in a number of countries without effect. Augustus attempted by enactments to restore the sanctity of domestic life. Usury laws have been tried to prevent the high rates of interest which are sometimes required by the state of the money markets. In the reign of Edward III, there was enacted a statute, of which the preamble ran as follows: "Whereas, through the excessive and over many meats which the people of this realm have used more than elsewhere, many mischiefs have happened by which many evils have occurred to body and soul; therefore, be it provided that in no house shall more than two meats be served at dinner or supper or more than two kinds of meat in such course." All such laws, however, have always been quietly evaded.

why should not the sale of intoxicating liquors be forbidden by law? Now, without inquiring whether some of these laws do not also infringe improperly upon the liberty of the citizen, it may be said that some of those things legislated against are crimes, and that others partake of a criminal nature through involving other people in the wrong, and further, that the question of moderation or excess is not considered respecting any of them; that they do not become wrong after a certain point only, for good conscience indicates that they are wrong in any degree of indulgence; but what man, with a properly constituted mind, can say that it should be made a punishable offense to drink liquor to a moderate extent or to sell a glass of ale to a person of known sobriety? Let us assume that a man is acting under the advice of his physician, or that he is hungry, weary and thirsty; he goes into a saloon and asks for a glass of beer; it is given to him; he drinks it, pays for it, and departs. In this transaction did the man who supplied the liquor do an intentional injury to him who asked him for it? Did the drinker of that glass of liquor do a wrongful act to him who supplied it? Was he even guilty of a vice towards himself? If not, then, in the name of justice, what right has any legislature to declare that act to be a crime which was a positive benefit to the person affected? In calling for legislative aid to carry out their Draconic ideas, Prohibitionists sanction the despotic maxim that the sovereign power can do no wrong. They forget that legislators occupy a position of trust, and that there are reciprocal duties between governors and the governed.

As it is the duty of the citizen to obey the law, so it is the duty of the governing authority to leave the purely moral duties and the vices of the individual to his own care, so long as he does not obtrude them offensively upon others, and to enact those laws only which tend to promote "the quiet, the ease and the comfort of the citizen."*

John Stuart Mill says: "There are questions relating to interference with trade which are essentially questions of liberty, such as the Maine law. The individual is not account-

* Wilhelm Von Humbolt.

able to society for his actions in so far as these concern the interests of no person but himself. Advice, instruction and persuasion are the only means by which society can justifiably express its dislike or disapprobation of his conduct.

"There is a limit to the legitimate interference of collective opinion with individual independence, and to find that limit and maintain it against encroachment are as indispensable to a good condition of human affairs as protection against political despotism."

When the Maine law was first enacted, its supporters predicted for it such glowing success that other nations would speedily be convinced of its merits, and would adopt a like course; but so far from any people other than Anglo-Saxon Americans having yet adopted it, not one man, either in Europe or America, worthy of the name of statesman, has ever advocated that law. On the contrary, all jurists and able theologians are united in the opinion that attempts to suppress the liquor traffic are not within the proper sphere of legislation, and hence every true statesman, when the proper time arrives, must take a firm stand against such legislation.

THEOLOGICAL ERRORS.

From no source does the cause of Prohibition derive such strength as it does from the support of many well-meaning but shallow clergymen, who induce multitudes to believe that legislation against the liquor traffic is a necessary adjunct to Christianity; and no stronger evidence can be furnished of the strange mental warp which the undue advocacy of this measure can produce than the fact that so many pastors, contrary to the example of Christ, become devoid of charity towards those whom they assail on this question, and that some of those who do not approve of this want of charity still go so far as to claim that "Prohibition is the Cause of God." It is pardonable for clerical Prohibitionists not to know what evils are, and what evils are not, within the proper sphere of legislation, for legislation is a science, and but few clergymen* have any

* It is this want of knowledge which has always made hierarchies so oppressive through their attempts to enforce mere moral duties, and those attempts suggest the prayer: May God protect our liberties when the clergy become our legislators.

knowledge of that science. It is less pardonable for them not to know the function of evil and the duty of the Christian respecting it. Instead of appealing to our sense of duty towards God, ourselves and our relatives, to avoid drinking to excess, they say, "Abstain, for the Legislature has imposed a penalty of fifty dollars for the first offense, and imprisonment for the second." They thus exhort us to render unto Cæsar the things that are God's, a course which violates the Divine behest, and tends to destroy the springs of moral action.

The class of extreme Prohibitionists is numerically so strong, that other clergymen, who do not agree with them, find it discreet to remain silent rather than run the risk of being practically ostracised; and yet, in direct opposition to this prevailing sentiment among them, a proper consideration of the subject leads us to the belief that so far from legislative prohibition of the liquor traffic being the cause of God, that measure is in conflict with His desires on this question, and therefore must ultimately fail of success. If He had intended that temptations to do wrong should be annihilated, could He not have accomplished that object by a mere word? Could He not have removed temptation from the garden of Eden? The same position He then took towards temptation, He has maintained ever since. Even to the most earnest prayers He never responds by removing the tempting object, but He gives us strength to resist it; for no man, even with a glass of liquor in his hand, was ever overcome by the temptation, if, at the same time, he sincerely prayed to God for power to resist. It is said by Prohibitionists that "Prohibition is the only attitude that God takes towards every kind of wrong-doing, and therefore is the only consistent attitude for good legislators;" but God's commands on all questions of pure morals are directed to the conscience only, leaving men free to act, subject only to responsibility to Himself. There is nothing in the Scriptures to sanction legislative interference on such questions; for while the phrases, "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," and "He who sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," are the Divine commands as to crimes, it is written as to *wrongs, "Vengeance is mine*, saith the Lord." The same

reasoning which would banish intoxicating liquors would apply to banish every kind of temptation from the world if those moralists had the power to do so, and thereby men would be reduced from their position of being like gods, knowing good and evil, to that of mere automatons. So far, then, from intending that human legislation should put an end to every kind of temptation, God intended that temptation should continue to exist among men for the trial of their virtue. Possibly, no man was ever better qualified to instruct us on this theme than John Milton, the author of the immortal poem "Paradise Lost." His qualifications were founded on his earnest piety, his great abilities, and the mature consideration he gave the subject in connection with the composing of his principal poems. When the Puritans obtained power, in Cromwell's time, they tried a legislative short-cut to morality by passing a law that no book should issue from the press until its teachings were approved of by a committee appointed for that purpose. That statute seemed to be needed then more than the prohibition of liquor is with us, for we are all sufficiently warned of the evils of intemperance; but in those times published criticisms, reviews and notices of books were almost unknown, and therefore the purchaser of a new book might have been inoculated with its heresy or immorality before he could discover its objectionable nature; yet Milton opposed the law in a pamphlet which he wrote for that purpose. As some of the arguments he then used are of equal applicability as against Prohibitionist legislation on the question of the liquor traffic, we give the following selections from his pamphlet:—

MILTON'S VIEWS.

"How great a virtue is temperance! how much of moment throughout one's entire life; yet God commits the management of so great a trust wholly to the care of every grown man. There were but little work left for preaching if law and compulsion should encroach upon those things which heretofore were governed only by exhortation. It was from within the rind of one apple tasted that the knowledge of good and evil,

as two twins cleaving together, leaped forth into the world, and perhaps this is the doom that Adam fell into of knowing good and evil, that is to say, of knowing good by evil. He that can apprehend and consider vice, with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better—he is the true warfaring Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised, that never seeks her adversary, but slinks away from the contest. Many there be who complain of Divine Providence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues! When God gave him reason He gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing. We ourselves esteem not that obedience, or love, or gift which is of force; God, therefore, left him free; set before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes. It was for him to act aright; herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. They are not skillful considerers of human things who think to remove sin by removing the matter of sin; for, though some part of it may for a time be withdrawn from some persons, it cannot from all. And supposing we could expel sin by these means; look, how much we thus expel of sin so much we expel of virtue, for the matter of both of them is the same; remove that and ye remove both alike. This justifies the high Providence of God, who, though He commands us temperance, yet pours out before us, even to profuseness, all desirable things, and gives us minds that can wander beyond all limit and satiety. Why, then, should we affect a rigor contrary to the manner of God and of nature, by abridging or scanting those means which are for the trial of virtue and the exercise of truth? And were I the chooser, a dram of well-doing should be preferred before many times as much the forcible hindrance of evil-doing, for God surely esteems the growth and completing of one virtuous person more than the restraint of ten vicious."*

* See Milton's "Areopagitica."

COMMENTS.

From these principles it will be seen that morals were intended by the Supreme Being to have a domain of their own, wherein the Light that lighted every man should be his guide; that those who invade this domain with harsh legislative interference are guilty of unwarrantable usurpation; that in laboring to enforce such laws they are warring against the Divine economy; that in praying to the Allwise to make those laws successful they commit the impiety of asking Him to waive His infinite wisdom in favor of the finite wisdom of His own mortals; and that Prohibitionists should either cease from urging us to pursue the irrational course of looking to the Legislature for our reformation from the misuse of liquor, instead of the rational course of relying on our own sense of individual responsibility, or they should answer Milton's question and justify their conduct by demonstrating that their method of dealing with evil is superior to the method of God.

THE WINE OF SCRIPTURE.

It may be stated in general terms that no one ever had any doubt that the wines mentioned in the Scriptures were of an intoxicating nature until the origin of Prohibition, and nothing has given the advocates of that measure more trouble than the devising of means for the removal of this lion from their path.

One class* boldy grapples with the difficulty by saying that there is nothing in the Scriptures which can be construed into sanctioning the use of fermented wine or showing that any of the wine used by our Saviour, or made by Him, contained alcohol.

This contention looks like impugning the wisdom with which the New Testament Scriptures were written. It is equivalent to saying that the teachings and practices of Christ, of the Apostles, and of the chief men of the Church allowed the universal belief and practice of Christians to go wrong on

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* *For this division of Prohibitionists into classes, and for a number of ideas in connection therewith, we are indebted to the Rev. Geo. J. Low's pamphlet on Prohibition, published by the United States Brewers' Association, New York.*

such a vital question for the long period of one thousand and eight hundred years, until certain men, more earnest than learned, discovered the true quality of the wines mentioned while endeavoring, not to promote Christianity, but to maintain that quality for the furtherance of a preconceived object of their own. Under these circumstances, it may be said that the presumption is strong against this discovery, by Prohibitionists, being a correct one, and the belief of all other Christians on this question being wrong. Besides, many reasons may be given for saying that the Scriptures are against their opinion.

We know, for instance, that the first time Jesus manifested forth His glory was by the miraculous making of wine; that on another occasion He said to the Pharisees, "John the Baptist came neither eating nor drinking wine, and ye say he hath the devil; the Son of man is come eating and drinking, and ye say, 'Behold a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber, a friend of the publicans and sinners;'" and we know, further, that His last official act was the consecrating of wine to be the Sacrament.

Now, granting, for the sake of argument, that the Jews knew a method by which to keep wine from fermenting, and that such unfermented wine was in common use as a beverage, still it is well known that the Greek word *oînos* was always used as a generic word denoting the various kinds of fermented liquor; that this is the word used throughout the Greek version of the New Testament in every instance in which the translators have used the word wine in our version, and consequently it is the word used in the Greek version of St. John's narrative of the first miracle; that the Greek word *methuo*, used in the same narrative and rendered in our versions by the words "well drunk," implies intoxication; that sweet non-alcoholic wine would soon cloy the taste, and a better quality instead of a worse would, therefore, have been required as the entertainment progressed; that fermented wines were at that time in common use; that there is nothing in the New Testament prohibiting the moderate use of wine, but the *contrary, as in the case* of St. Paul's recommendation of it to *Timothy; that our Saviour* did not consider the use of te

mented wines to be wrong; otherwise, "He who was without guile" would not have lent Himself to the semblance of wrong-doing by making wine for festivity, by using wine as a beverage, or by consecrating wine as a sacrament to be celebrated by Christians throughout ages of time, without giving it to be clearly understood that such wines were not of an intoxicating kind.

Now, when, in the face of all this, certain Prohibitionists, who claim that they have paid especial attention to the subject, can say that "there is not a shred of evidence to show that the wine made by our Saviour contained alcohol, or that he sanctioned the use of that kind of wine," we are driven to say of them that on this question, at least, they are proof against reason.

Another class of Prohibitionists say: "We admit that the Bible allows the use of alcoholic beverages; we admit that Christ used them when on earth; but if He were on earth at the present time and saw the evil effects of drink, He would approve of our efforts to put an end to the evil by legislative enactment."

Now, the effect of this contention is to deny the Divine prescience, and to give color to the infidel's* assertion that every man makes his own God.

With Prohibitionists, Jesus Christ is not "the same yesterday, to-day and forever." In their view He becomes a Prohibitionist. They say that the liberty wherewith Christ made us free, He would in our times infringe upon by means of "the weak and beggarly elements of the law," as if Christian conduct should no longer be actuated by the living, active principle of well-doing, but by a desire to secure the banishment of the opportunity for evil-doing.

Practically, they say that God has not given us sufficient strength of mind to resist the temptation to drink liquor, and therefore we must remove the temptation by human means. For the sword of the spirit they would substitute the baton of the constable.

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* *Voltaire.*

BRIEF HISTORY OF PROHIBITION.

If attempts to suppress the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors could be made successful in any place, that place should be found in the United States, where it is a fundamental democratic doctrine that the majority have a right to rule the minority, and where universal suffrage and the lack of any great national grievance requiring removal stimulate active minds to search for subjects on which to legislate. Intemperance in the use of liquors seemed to be peculiarly adapted for reform by legislative means. It was undeniable that there were cases in which liquor drinking was an evil. It also seemed clear that if men could not get liquor they could not get drunk, and that if a law were passed prohibiting the manufacture and the sale of liquor, and if such a law were vigilantly enforced, it would necessarily succeed in working a reform.

It was believed to be a Christian duty to commence and support such a movement. At first only a few advocated Prohibition, but these few became thoroughly versed in the subject, or, at least, in their view of it. They were ready with all the arguments, whether real or fallacious, which told in their own favor. They devoted themselves to the work, and, after an agitation which had lasted ten years, the State of Maine passed a Prohibitory law in June, 1851.

This law provided that no one should be allowed to manufacture or sell any spirituous or malt liquors except for medicinal or mechanical purposes. Liquors to be applied to these purposes were to be sold by an agent appointed for each town. These agents were to be appointed by the local authorities, and to give bonds in heavy penalties to secure the performance of their duties in strict compliance with the provisions of the Act. They were to be paid by salary, and had to account for the profits of sale to those who had appointed them. Fines were provided for every illegal sale, and for a third offense, imprisonment from three to six months was added to the fine.

If three persons, being voters in the town or locality

should state on oath or affirmation that they believed intoxicating liquors were kept in any premises and were intended for an illegal sale, the premises might be searched by the Sheriff, and any liquors which might be found were to be destroyed.

The example set by Maine arrested attention far and wide. To millions of people it seemed both possible and desirable to make men temperate by acts of the Legislature. Eloquent arguments were multiplied in favor of the attempt, and few arguments were urged against it. In the year 1852 similar laws were passed by the Legislatures of the States of Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Vermont and Minnesota. In 1853 the Act was passed by the State of Michigan, and in 1854 similar laws were passed by the Legislatures of the States of New Hampshire, Maryland, Ohio, Connecticut and New York. The late Horatio Seymour, who was then Governor of the State of New York, vetoed the measure, but in the same year he was defeated by another candidate who was favorable to Prohibition, and the Legislature of that State having again passed the Act, it became law in 1855. The States of Delaware, Iowa, Indiana and Wisconsin shortly afterward adopted the Act.

The following account, taken from Mr. Chubb's Maine Liquor Law (New York, 1856), shows the position of the States and Territories respecting the law in that year

States where a Prohibitory law is in operation	14
Territories	4
States and Districts where majorities are in favor of the law, but where it has not been fully enacted	5
	23
Thirteen States and four Territories not yet known to be in favor of Prohibition	17
Majority of States and Territories in favor	6

	Population.	Male Adults.	Area Sq. Miles.
Prohibition States	13,522,297	3,641,571	808,000
States not declared on the subject	9,577,281	1,499,365	656,105
Excess in favor of Prohibition	3,945,016	2,142,206	151,895

The earnestness with which the supporters of the law labored in the various States to make it successful in suppressing the liquor traffic has seldom, if ever, been surpassed in any movement.

The citizens vied with each other in devising means for aiding and supplementing the executive officers who were appointed by law. Throughout some States voluntary committees of three or more were selected from among the residents of every school section, whose duty it was to see that the law was properly enforced within their respective districts. In other States the assessment rolls were taken, and a voluntary tax was self-imposed by and upon those who were favorable to the law, for the purpose of obtaining funds with which to secure a thorough enforcing. In Vermont, and subsequently in other States, what is called a disclosure clause was inserted in the Act, which directed that any person found intoxicated might be imprisoned and be kept in prison until he divulged the name of the man who supplied him with the liquor. Detectives were employed to discover and secure the punishment of violators of the Act. The powerful influences of the pulpit, the prayer-meeting, the house-to-house visitation, societies, lodges, Maine-law orators and temperance literature were combined throughout the country to arouse the people to the enthusiastic support of the law and to discourage its opponents. Glowing accounts were given by Prohibitionists of the success of the Act wherever it was in force.

They claimed that it caused an increased attendance at church, a better observance of the Sabbath, a lessening of crime, a greater activity in trade, and an improvement of public health and prosperity. On the other hand, they declared, truly enough, that the passage of the law was not a treaty of peace, but a declaration of war. If any man in office ventured to differ from them, they flooded the State with invectives against him. Within a few months after Governor Seymour had vetoed the Act, one Prohibitionist establishment published no less than three thousand eight hundred *different "Strictures"* upon him for what he had done, and *many of these strictures* were of a violent kind. The v

epithets with which party warfare abounds were intensified and showered upon him from all parts of the State.

Under the wrought-up excitement, zeal became with many an unreasoning fanaticism. Physical force was employed. Vigilance committees entered houses at times to destroy the side-board bars, as the domestic liquor supplies were called. The jails became filled as they had never been filled before. Every means that human ingenuity could suggest were tried, but tried in vain. Violations continued with discouraging frequency; many Prohibitionists became reluctant to aid in enforcing the Act, and it then became apparent that the law was even outwardly observed only so long as the people actively supported it.

In many of those places where most strenuous efforts had been made to enforce the law, it eventually became such a dead letter, that, judging from the drinking habits of the people, one would not have seen reasons to believe it had any existence on the statute-books. Public sentiment respecting it gradually changed; until, as the result, it was repealed in four-fifths of the States which had adopted it—namely, New York, Maryland, Ohio, Connecticut, Delaware, Iowa, Minnesota, Massachusetts, Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin and Rhode Island,—leaving only the three comparat ively small, unimportant and non-progressive States of Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire as Prohibition States. An account of the decline of the agitation would be instructive, but we must limit our references to the position of the liquor traffic in a few States after many years' experience under the law.

THE LAW IN MASSACHUSETTS.

In the State of Massachusetts the Maine law was tried under peculiarly favorable circumstances. That State being bounded on the southeast by the Atlantic Ocean, was bounded in all other directions by a cluster of other Prohibition States, so that she was almost isolated against the introduction of liquors (except in quantities of not less than five gallons or in unbroken packages, which quantities, under Federal authority, were allowed to be imported into any State, notwithstanding

the Maine law was in force under the laws of that State); the citizens of Massachusetts deserve credit for the general diffusion of education, of public spirit and of temperance principles. This State enacted the law in 1852. Fifteen years afterwards the evil effects of Prohibitory legislation became so marked that a joint committee of the Senate and House of Representatives was appointed to inquire into the subject and report. This committee sent invitations to the leading citizens of Massachusetts to come before it and testify to the working of the law in their respective localities. In response to the invitations, 183 prominent citizens went before the committee; of this number, 108 condemned the Prohibition law in the strongest terms. Among those who gave evidence against the law were thirty-four ministers of the Gospel, all of whom, with rare unanimity, testified to the increased drunkenness it had caused in their respective parishes. In the language of several of these clergymen, the effect of the law had been "greatly to increase home-drinking and to introduce the tippling habit to the notice of wives and children." The Rev. James A. Healy, pastor of a very large Roman Catholic church, who visited extensively among the poorer classes, said, "In almost every house they have liquor, and in many places they sell to others." Among the most prominent witnesses were gentlemen, who, from their daily experience during many years, were induced to come forward and testify to the evil effects of Prohibitory legislation. Mayor Norcross stated that "drunkenness increases;" ex-Mayor Lincoln said that "the sale of ardent spirits had increased in a greater ratio than the population had increased." From the cities of Boston, Cambridge, Lowell, Charlestown, New Bedford, Fall River, Worcester, Lynn, Springfield and Pittsfield came similar evidence given by Mayors, ex-Mayors and other competent persons. The report which this committee made gave statistics showing the tendency to an increase of drunkenness under the Prohibitory law.

Referring to the liquor traffic of Boston, it said: "It can be safely asserted that, while the number of open places has undoubtedly *been somewhat* diminished, all the principal hotels

groceries, restaurants, apothecaries and wholesale liquor dealers sell openly, and immense and continually increasing numbers of secret places and clubs have been established; drunkenness has increased almost in direct ratio with the closing of public places, and there is now more of it than at any previous time in the history of the city." And dealing with general principles, the report states: "The mere fact that the law tries to prevent men from drinking arouses in many of them the determination to drink. The fact that the place is secret takes away the restraint which in more public and respectable places would keep them within temperate bounds; the fact that the business is contraband and liable to interruption, and that its gains are hazardous, tends to drive honest men from it and to leave it under the control of dishonest men, who will not scruple to poison the community with vile adulteration. Let the law cease to attempt to interfere arbitrarily with what a man shall drink, while nevertheless placing such regulations as experience has shown to be necessary over the persons who may make the sale and the time and the place where the sale shall be made. Let it be regarded as a fact that the demand on the part of those who desire, wisely or unwisely, to use liquor as a beverage has always been met and always will be met by men who will sell either under the law or in defiance of the law, and that wise legislation should recognize and act upon this fact." The report closed with the following words: "As good citizens, whose only interest is to promote the highest good of the State, we should not be deterred by prejudice, or the pride of opinion, or the mistaken judgments of good men, from reforming in season a law unsound in theory and bad in practice."

Massachusetts did not act upon the report hastily. Seven more years passed before the Act was repealed; but when it was repealed the value of the information contained in the report was more clearly seen, for in the city of Boston alone the arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct during the years of Prohibition had averaged about 18,000 per annum, while under the subsequent license law, although the population of the city had largely increased, the average did not rise above

14,000 per annum; and from a report made to the Governor of the State for the year ending with November, 1878, we learn that the arrests for drunkenness in the entire State of Massachusetts during the year 1874 (which was the last year under Prohibition) numbered 28,044; and in 1878, with the license law in force, the number was reduced to 20,657. Such are the facts taught by Prohibition in the State of Massachusetts, where it existed for twenty long years.

THE LAW IN VERMONT.

Vermont, which still retains the law as part of her Constitution, should be a good field for experimental Prohibition. The Prohibitory law of that State is very severe. It gives the power to search private houses for liquor without a warrant. With what avail? In an article by Mr. Edward Johnston in the *Popular Science Monthly* for May, 1884, it is said: "But the practical operation of this severe and sweeping law—there is the rub. It is a fact that cannot be controverted or denied, that for all practical purposes the law is a dead letter. According to the returns of the United States revenue officers, the Government tax on the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors in the State amounted last year to $14,000, in round numbers. On the same authority, there are in the State at the present time 446 places where intoxicating liquors are openly sold; and, although the population is well-nigh stationary, there is a marked increase in the number of these places, last year's returns showing 426, and those for the preceding year 409. In the city of Burlington there are about threescore places where liquor is sold, and in Rutland, St. Albans, and all the larger towns a proportional number, and in every village in the State, with the exception of a few inconsiderable hamlets, there is at least one such place. A large proportion of the dram-shops are located upon the principal streets, and there is no concealment or attempted concealment of the illegal traffic conducted within them. As these facts and figures sufficiently indicate, the law, broadly speaking, is not *at all enforced. The sale* of liquor, it is hardly too much to *say, is almost as free and* open as though there were no such

thing as a Prohibitory law. Of enforcing the law as the laws against burglary and larceny are enforced, no one dreams for a moment. Such is the unsatisfactory result of Vermont's thirty years' experience of the Prohibitory law."

THE LAW IN IOWA.

The State of Iowa, having tried Prohibition more than thirty years ago, and having found that it did not succeed, returned to the license system. Since that time a new generation has arisen there, which, like Diomede, boasts that it is composed of better men than its fathers were—that it can succeed where they failed,—and about four years ago re-enacted the law. With what effect? After the law had been in force about two years, Senator Sutton made a careful investigation and found that, although the number of saloons throughout the State immediately previous to the re-enactment was 1,806, yet after two years' trial of suppression, the number of open saloons was 1,837, and he obtained information of 420 other places in which liquors were sold clandestinely.

The strongest evidence that this second attempt to enforce Prohibition has failed as miserably as the first one did, is to be found in the address made during the autumn of 1887 by those leading Republicans of Polk County, Iowa, who had voted for Prohibition, showing their fellow-citizens that the law has been worse than a failure in that State, and appealing to them to repeal it. Testimony of a similar kind might be adduced from all the States which have tried Prohibition; but without further citation at present, it may be claimed from the mere fact that four-fifths of those States that have tried the law, having repealed it, after years of earnest attempts to enforce it, a very strong presumption arises that the law has some inherent defects which make it ultimately result in failure.

THE LAW IN MAINE.

Prohibitionists, however, persistently claim that the law has not been a failure; that in the State of Maine it has *proved to be a great* success, and that after nearly thirty-three *years of trial of* the law the voters throughout the State gave

emphatic proof of this, when, in the month of September, 1884, they adopted an amendment to the Constitution of their State in favor of Prohibition by the large majority of 44,000 votes. They say the question at the polls was whether the law was a success or a failure; that the adult male citizens of Maine, who were better qualified to judge than any stranger was, because they resided in that State, and knew of their own knowledge how the Act had succeeded, constituted the jury, and that the verdict was so strongly rendered by that jury as to prevent every one from denying the fact which they allege that verdict decided and settled. But this claim applies equally in the case of Massachusetts, and of the great majority of other Prohibition States, to prove that Prohibition, according to the experience of those States, was a failure.

In reply to this, Prohibitionists say the fact that their law has failed and has been repealed in any given number of States, only proves that sufficiently strenuous and properly directed efforts are not made in those States to secure its proper enforcement; that if they can cite even one State in which it has been made successful, by any means whatever, they prove their case; for if the same means had been adopted in other States, those means would have been attended by the same measure of success, and they claim that the above-mentioned vote proves that the Act has been successful in the State of Maine. In this way we are brought again to that vote; in fact, it is almost impossible to overstate the use which has been made of it, and the fresh impetus it has given to Prohibition throughout the length and breadth of the Union.

The importance of the subject calls for an inquiry into the means by which the vote was secured.

The people of Massachusetts proceeded in a judicial way to determine whether the merits or demerits of the Act were the greater. The able and impartial committee above mentioned was appointed to take evidence and report; the evidence and the report were laid before the people; orators and writers presented the case for and against legislative Prohibition; *ample time* was taken by the people to consider the *question; and, eventually*, the verdict was given against the Act.

Now, if the decision of Massachusetts, or if that of Maine, were obtained through intrigue, or upon grounds other than upon the merits or demerits of the Act, as revealed by its working, it is evident such decision is worthless as a test of those merits or demerits.

Twelve years have now passed since Massachusetts repealed the Act, and we have yet to learn that any questionable means were taken to secure that repeal. Can the same be said of the means taken in Maine to secure the ratification of the amendment? As is well known, the vote on the Constitutional Amendment took place in September, 1884, at the same time that the election of the Governor of the State of Maine was held, being about two months previous to the Presidential contest. It is well known, also, that the election of the Governor on that occasion possessed a deep interest for both of the great political parties, because of the influence their then measure of strength was expected to have on the ensuing Presidential election, and therefore each party wanted to secure for their candidate the support of the Prohibitionists. Much to the chagrin of the political Prohibitionists, their General supported Mr. Blaine for the Presidency, instead of the Prohibitionist candidate, Mr. St. John; and shortly after that election, in order to quiet the murmurings of his co-workers at what he had done, he naïvely published over his own signature, as if he were merely relating a creditable instance of diplomatic smartness, a statement to the effect that he had made a secret agreement with the leaders of the Republican party, by which they were to support the Amendment and he was to support Mr. Blaine, and that he had in this way secured a strong vote. Hence that vote cannot be relied on to prove the success of Prohibition; on the contrary, the only lesson it teaches is that after more than thirty years' experience by the citizens of Maine of the benefits which Prohibition is claimed to confer, the originators and supporters of that law were afraid to leave the question to a test vote of those citizens on its own merits, *and resorted to* the dark ways of political intrigue to secure a *majority vote, although* intrigue necessitated the glaring inconsistency *of a* breaking away by them from the Presidential

candidate who was brought out and supported by the Prohibition party throughout the rest of the Union. A much better test took place at the Gubernatorial contest in Maine, during September, 1885, when the Prohibition candidate, after the most strenuous efforts of his party, did not receive one-fortieth part as many votes as were given to the Republican and Democratic candidates.

PROHIBITION A FAILURE IN MAINE.

But aside from those elections, what, after all, has been the result of the Act in the State of Maine, which Prohibitionists claim to be the successful test State? A satisfactory answer to this question requires a knowledge of the mischief caused by the drinking habits which prevailed in that State before the Prohibitory law came into force and of the extent of the mischief caused by those habits as they prevail there at the present time.

No part of the Union was more temperate previous to the passage of the Prohibitory law than the State of Maine was, except among her lumber-men. The fact that she was the pioneer State in legislative Prohibition shows that her citizens were devoted to what they believed to be temperance principles. Even fifty years ago a great number of total abstinence societies existed in Maine.

Licenses were at that time granted with discretion, and selling without license was severely punished. The temperance sentiment was so strong that there were many townships from which liquor had practically been driven. Before the Prohibitory law was enacted, not one person in one thousand throughout Maine drank to such excess as to be habitually beyond self-control.

The facilities for getting liquor, and the actual buying and drinking of it, in Maine, are greater at the present time than they were before the Act came into force. At one fell stroke the so-called Prohibitory law blighted every temperance society, and planted instead a local liquor agency in every town, *willing or unwilling*, throughout the State. The extent to *which some of these* agencies dispense liquors was shown at a

Prohibitory convention held early in 1886 at the town of Saco, in Maine, when statistics were produced showing that, with a population of 6,389, as many as 16,000 prescriptions of liquor had been put up at the local liquor agency of that town during a period of two hundred days.

Besides these local liquor agencies, which are established under the authority of the law, and of which there are at present twenty-six throughout the State, there exists in violation of the law a large number of

LICENSED GROGGERIES.

The entire number of places throughout the State of Maine licensed to sell intoxicating liquors during the fiscal year which ended on the 30th day of April, 1887, was 1,260; as this statement that there were licensed groggeries in a State where, theoretically, no intoxicating liquors are allowed to be sold seems so extraordinary as to call for an explanation, the following particulars are given:—

By the Revised Statutes of the United States, Title 35, chapters 1, 2 and 3, provision is made for taxing those who are engaged in the sale of liquor; authority is given under which revenue collectors are appointed for districts throughout the States and Territories. Every person engaged in selling liquor must register with the collector of his district his name, place of residence, and the place where such business is carried on. He must pay the fee of $20 for the stamp allowing him to sell malt liquors only, or $25 for the stamp allowing him to sell spirituous and malt liquors. Upon payment of the tax, he is to be given the proper Government stamp authorizing him to sell. Every collector must keep in a proper place in his office for public inspection an alphabetical list of the names of all persons who have paid him the tax, and stating the time when and the place of business for which it was paid. Every collector must send his deputies throughout his district to find out who are liable to pay the stamp tax, and every person who sells liquor without having paid the tax is liable to a penalty of not less than $1,000 and not more than $5,000 and to be imprisoned for a period of not less than six months

nor more than two years. Druggists who use liquors in the compounding and manufacture of medicine only, need not pay the tax. It is further provided that "the payment of this tax shall not be held to exempt any person from any penalty or punishment provided by the laws of any State for carrying on the business within such State, or authorize the commencement or continuance of such business contrary to the laws of such State or of any place where it is prohibited by municipal law."

In the city of Portland, at the Internal Revenue Office, the alphabetical list annually made of the names and places of business of those who were for the time being licensed to sell liquors in the State of Maine, was every year previous to the present one, open to the inspection of every citizen. The list for the year ending April 30, 1886, shows that 1,047 persons paid the special retail spirituous liquor-dealers' tax and that 88 persons paid the malt liquor-dealers' tax, making a total of 1,135 persons who had been licensed to engage in retailing intoxicating liquors throughout the State during that year, and for the year ending April 30, 1887, the number was 1,260. As the population of the State at the taking of the last census was 648,936, there was the proportion of one licensed grog-shop to every 515 persons, composed of men, women and children, throughout the State. When such a large number of men can be found publicly and boldly to flout the State Prohibitory law, can any fact more conclusively show how empty and misleading is the Prohibitionists' boast that their law is a great success in Maine? If the law ever had any prospect of being successful it ought before this, its thirty-fifth year, to have succeeded in stopping liquor selling in that State, or to be at least approximating towards such a consummation; but the facts are against that prospect; for, while the increase of population is only about one-third of one per cent. per year, the number of licensed groggeries during the year ending April 30, 1884, was 1,046, being less by 38 than in 1885, *when the number* became 1,094. And the number for the *year ending April 30, 1885*, was 41 less than the number for *the year ending April 30*, 1886. and for 1887 it was 125

greater than for 1886. This shows that the increase of these groggeries is twelve times greater than that of the population. That there should have been an increase in the number of the licensed groggeries in the year 1886 over the number there was during the previous year is the more remarkable when we consider that in February and March, 1885, a very vigorous crusade was instituted by the Law and Order League under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Munson against these groggeries. The expected visit at Portland of more than 100,000 members of the Grand Army of the Republic from all parts of the Union to take place early in the summer of 1885 was the incentive to this crusade. It would not do to let these visitors carry to their homes a clear knowledge of the drink habits as they existed in Portland, so a list of the liquor sellers was obtained from the Revenue Office, and in a few weeks many hundreds of persons were prosecuted for selling liquors, but in spite of these prosecutions the number of licensed drinking places continued to increase. This constant increase bears out the statement of the prison inspectors for the State of Maine, made in their report for the year 1884, in which they say that drunkenness is increasing in that State. In further corroboration of that report, it may be mentioned that the number of committals for drunkenness to the jails throughout the State was 1,320 in the year 1884, and rose to the number of 1,761 in 1885, an increase of 441. Besides the local liquor agencies and the licensed groggeries, there is throughout the State a large number of

UNLICENSED GROGGERIES.

It is seen in the extract from the statute we have quoted that the only object the vendor of liquor secures in paying the Government tax is immunity from the heavy penalties provided against selling without having paid that tax; but if a liquor seller pays the tax, he publishes that fact, together with his name and place of business, thereby exposing himself in a Prohibitory State to detection and punishment under the State law. To avoid Scylla he must risk the dangers of Charybdis. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that many of those who sell liquor in Maine do so without paying the tax.

and trust to their own vigilance to avoid detection, and thus escape the penalties imposed by both the Federal and State laws. A liquor seller knows that by paying the tax he exposes himself to conviction under the State laws; he knows also that if he is detected by the Federal officers in selling without having paid the tax he can then compromise the matter by paying the tax and a small sum for costs. So it is reasonable to suppose that many sell liquor without having paid the tax, and this assumption is supported by the state of things at the city of Portland, where there ought to be very few unlicensed groggeries, because the fine-and-imprisonment-inflicting powers of the Revenue Office and of the Maine law have their headquarters there.*

Citizens of that city and of Cumberland County, in which it is situated, paid for only 258 stamps in the year 1884, although it has been estimated that during the same year there were three hundred places in Portland alone in which intoxicating liquors were sold. Assuming that the number of unlicensed groggeries in Maine equals the number that is licensed, we find that, over and above the number of local liquor agencies, there is an average of one groggery for every 250 persons throughout the State.

The statistical number of liquor sellers on the first ay of July, 1886, throughout the entire Union, was 210,000, making an average of one to every 275 persons; so that, so far as numbers are concerned, the State of Maine has more than her full share of liquor sellers.

That the consumption of intoxicating liquors is great in the State of Maine may be inferred from the large and increasing numbers of places where they may be bought, and the testimony of reliable witnesses puts the fact beyond doubt. The late Dr. Dio Lewis said: "It has frequently been claimed that the rum traffic is practically dead in the State of Maine. I went to examine. I found many proofs that the drink curse in that State is enormous. I became satisfied that, as temptations, the private drinking clubs and other means of obtain-

* *The Internal Revenue Office* has recently been removed to the State of New Hampshire, *to checkmate a Prohibition* amendment passed at the late session of the Maine Legislature.

ing liquor in Maine are more fascinating and mischievous than the open saloons."

Even the country parts of Maine compare unfavorably with the country parts of other States on this question. Aroostook County, which is the remote and sparsely peopled county of the State, had, besides her local liquor agencies and unlicensed groggeries, no less than 19 licensed groggeries in 1884; but it is in her cities that the greatest intemperance prevails. To show this, we give the following extract from a letter which was written in Maine by a friend of temperance, and was published in the New York *Daily Herald* of March 21, 1885. The accuracy of the statements contained in this extract has not been denied; on the contrary, a number of them were corroborated by an eminent writer in an article published in the *North American Review* of July, 1885: "For the past six years the city of Bangor has practically enjoyed free rum. There are over one hundred places there where liquors are sold, and no attempt has been made during that time to enforce the law. The law is a nullity in that city. In Lewiston, Bath, Augusta and other cities no difficulty is experienced by those who want to get liquor. In the city of Portland, under General Dow's own eyes, the liquor traffic flourishes. To illustrate how hard it is to break up the business, we may state that for five years the Prohibitionists pursued a rum-seller in Portland. They made him pay fines more than forty times, and then they got him in jail; but this did not break up his business, for his brother took charge of it. Then they went at him; and when, after a protracted siege, he was forced to retire, his brother-in-law took his place, and carries on the business to-day. Last year there were nearly one thousand prosecutions of liquor dealers in the State, and although there were numerous convictions, the number of grog-shops was not diminished. The situation does not show that Maine is the Prohibition State she is represented to be."

The platform adopted by the Prohibition State Convention of Maine in June, 1886, says: "In Portland, Bangor, Biddeford, Lewiston, Bath, Hallowell, and other cities and towns of the State, so far from the impartial enforcement of the law

being adhered to from principle, the law is enforced or not as the personal will of the officer or party exigencies demand."

As Prohibitionists are not likely to misstate facts to the disadvantage of their cause, it is significant that in so many parts of Maine "party exigencies" and "the personal will" of elected officers cause non-enforcement of the law. Does not this mean that the liquor interests still count for something in that State? The statistics already given show that they do, so far as those interested in the sale of liquors are concerned, and an examination of these statistics of drunkenness shows that those interested in the obtaining of liquors compose a strong faction. Take the city of Portland again for an example. In no part of the Union have more earnest and persistent efforts been made to enforce the Act. General Dow resides in Portland, and has there superintended the working of the law ever since it was originally enacted, yet in no city of the same size throughout the Union is drunkenness more prevalent. In the year 1883 this city of 33,810 inhabitants had 1,428 arrests for drunkenness, making one arrest to every twenty-three of her 33,810, although the city of Chicago, with her 600,000 inhabitants and her bad reputation for drunkenness, had during the same year only about 18,000 arrests for that offense, making only one arrest to every thirty-three of her 600,000.

Lest it be thought that it was on account of the extraordinary vigilance of the Prohibitionists so many were arrested, we give the following extract from an address delivered in Portland by the Rev. Dr. McKeown of that city. He said: "He thought the city was in a bad way, that it was under the rule of rum, and that the Marshal's order to the effect that the law against liquor selling should be executed against those who sold on Sundays and after ten o'clock at night on other days was virtually saying that the law might be violated with impunity at other times. It seemed to him that arrests for the violation of the law had well-nigh ceased to be made by police. He asked whether, when drunkards were reeling *through our streets and* intemperance swept the city, if the *Church should be silent.*" During the summer of 1886 the

clergymen of Portland petitioned the Council of that city to compel the saloons to close their bars on Sundays. Such is the condition of the temperance cause in the city which has always been the home of the author and Commanding General of Prohibition.

About the same time that this petition was presented, the Prohibition candidate for the Governorship of Maine said in his speech accepting his nomination: "It is high time that something should be done in this State to put down the liquor traffic." And in supporting this candidate, General Dow said: "The volume of the liquor traffic has not been at all reduced within the last twenty years. In every city in Maine, except Portland, the law has been and is absolutely ignored."

A volume of similar evidence might be furnished; but enough has been given to show that, although Maine was a temperate State before the Prohibitory law was enacted, she has since that time become a more intemperate State, and therefore, instead of putting an end to the drinking of intoxicating liquors, as it was intended to do, that law has proved to be worse than a failure.

THE LAW IN KANSAS.

The State of Kansas passed a severe Prohibitory law, which went into force on the first day of May, 1881, and this law was rendered still more severe by an amendment which went into force on the first day of May, 1885. Notwithstanding this law, the number of persons throughout that State licensed to sell intoxicating liquors is much greater now than it was before Prohibition was enacted. The number of stamps issued to such dealers from the office of the Internal Revenue Collector, at the city of Leavenworth, in that State, for the year ending the thirtieth day of April, 1881, the last year under the State License Acts, was 1,894. For the year 1882, being the first year of Prohibition, the number fell to 1,787; for the year 1883, the number rose to 2,150; for 1884 it became 2,739; for 1885 it was 2,773; for 1886 it was 2,852; and for the year 1887 it was 3,115. By the census of 1880 the population of Kansas was 996,096. Assuming that

now numbers 1,250,000, there would be, on an average, one licensed liquor shop for every 401 of her inhabitants; and if an accurate estimate of the number of unlicensed groggeries could be formed, it would be found that, so far as the number of places for the sale of intoxicating liquors is concerned, Kansas is as well supplied, in proportion to population, as the license States are.

LOCAL OPTION.

If the Maine law and the Kansas law fail of success, although they are the severest prohibitory laws against the liquor traffic ever inflicted upon an intelligent people, what hope of success can there be for local option, which only prohibits the sale of intoxicating liquors within a circumscribed locality? The greatest success for this and other prohibitory laws is claimed where they are in force in country places, but these are the places where there is no need of Prohibition, because of the sobriety of the farmers.

It is in cities that liquor drinking is most indulged in, but it is here that prohibitory laws show the most complete failure; for it is a remarkable fact that among the hundreds of cities in which the law has been tried, not a single one containing more than 15,000 inhabitants can be found in which it ever became and continued to be a success.

Local option aims simply at destroying the saloons; it does not attempt to prevent the bringing in of liquors from other cities, and as strong liquors are more easily kept good, and more readily handled than malt liquors are, the principal effect of that law is "to rob the poor man of his beer," and let him drink whiskey instead.

Even leading Prohibitionists condemn local option. One* who was the ablest among them gives his opinion against this law as follows:—

"1. This law does not make liquor selling a crime, but teaches that a majority vote of the people can make it either right or wrong. The effect of such a law is to demoralize public sentiment.

* The late John B. Finch.

"2. It applies to the municipality only which adopts it, and which may be surrounded by others granting license. Under such conditions Prohibition can never have a fair trial.

"3. Citizens of a town will say drinking men never come to a Prohibition town to trade if there is a license town equally near, and we cannot afford to kill our town even for principle.

"4. Local option delegates power to a municipality to prohibit the traffic, but does not give the municipality the power to fix an adequate penalty to violations.

"5. Local option degrades the struggle into a personal fight. It is the citizen of the town against the saloon-keeper of the town.

"6. It is an unsafe principle to introduce into municipal matters, because it subordinates all business interests to the one issue of saloon or no saloon. If a first-class business man was nominated for the Council or Mayoralty, who favored license, and a man poorly qualified be nominated for the same position, who opposed license, Prohibitionists, as a matter of principle, would be compelled to vote for the man poorly qualified, claiming that to be a less evil than a licensed grog-shop. Each year this issue would be forced. Neighbors who should be friends, become enemies, all because an issue of national character has been forced into municipal elections, to be fought over every year, with the knowledge that the municipality can never settle it.

"7. Prohibition can never be fairly tested by local option. Local option is determined by annual elections. No law changing the social customs and destroying a social institution, can be honestly tested in a single year. Where a State has no local option, the worker is foolish indeed who will petition and work for it. The idea that a traffic can be made right in one part of the State, and wrong in another, is absurd."

But condemnation, even by Prohibitionists, will not silence the local optionists. A difficulty is that two many persons are interested in such agitations. Lecturers, organizers, canvassers, publishers, reporters, etc., form a hireling organization in many local-option States, ready and willing to advocate their specialty, although it must involve the elements of anarchy,

and just as if the mere putting of a dozen lines on the statute-book could work the miracle of changing men's nature so soon as their measure is carried, they look upon their work as finished in that place, and they are ready to float away to any other place to which they may be called, and leave it to others to work out the same failure which has eventually attended Prohibition in every place in which the trial has been sufficiently prolonged.

THE LAW IN CANADA.

In Canada the evils of the liquor traffic have always been but slight, yet in no other country has there ever been such a despotic local-option law as has existed there for the past few years. In the province of Ontario a large majority of the counties have adopted it, and to enforce the Act where it has been adopted the Provincial Government appoints police magistrates, many of whom are ignorant of even the elementary principles of law, and are selected through the influence of Prohibitionists because of their partisan zeal. Upon these ignorant zealots the law confers greater powers than the highest court of the land possesses. Each of them is both Judge and jury. He may act entirely without jurisdiction, and there is no redress against him. He may issue warrants to search private dwellings. He may convict without evidence of guilt. His right to levy penalties is simply unlimited. It is in his power to ruin any man charged with violating the Act by inflicting a fine heavy enough for that purpose.* The Act expressly takes away the right of appealing to any court from any of his decisions for any cause whatsoever. The outrages committed by some of these men, and by informers hired with money provided by the Government, frequently provoke deplorable reprisals, and sometimes bloodshed. The enforcement of this foul blot on the statute-book is brutalizing to the people. Its effects are evil only, and not good.

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* *That is according* to the letter of the statute law. The high courts would review the *magistrate's discretion if* he has acted oppressively.

HIGH LICENSE.

High license may be advisable for the purpose of increasing the revenue; but if State Prohibition and local option fail to promote temperance, it must be impossible for high license to succeed.

It was chiefly through the exertions of the late Hon. J. B. Finch that the State of Nebraska enacted a high-license law in the year 1880; but in a short time he was convinced by what he saw of its practical working that it was a failure, and in his subsequent speeches he frankly admitted the fact.

Recently the Federal Legislature of Switzerland appointed a commission to inquire into the drink question and report. This commission examined and considered the laws and experiences of thirteen nations whose governments have taken cognizance of the same question. In a careful and elaborate report it is stated: "In the course of our investigation we have not found any data warranting the assumption that the reduction of the number of drinking places tends to restrict the consumption of ardent spirits. On the contrary, we are constrained to state that we have frequently found the evil effects of alcoholism most prevalent in the very localities where the number of drinking places was smallest, an apparent anomaly, which finds its explanation in the fact that in the absence of a sufficient number of conveniently located bar-rooms the people of the localities in question become accustomed to tippling at home, laying in store greater or smaller quantities of spirits, according to their means. The number of saloons is not a criterion of the consumption of spirits. We hold that a much more effective temperance measure than a reduction of the saloons is to be found in all those rules and regulations which, by exacting certain securities from the persons licensed to retail ardent spirits, render the retailers as a class more respectable and improve the condition and management of drinking places."*

* Nor have the restrictions as to the days and hours of selling been more successful. (See the *Fortnightly Review* for August, 1884, p. 211.) Complete prohibition is claimed on the ground that the liquor drinker is such a slave to the appetite that, unless liquor is put *entirely beyond his reach*, he will strain every nerve to get it. How absurd, then, to enact *that saloons shall not sell* at certain times, leaving the drinker free to provide for those *times by getting a supply* of liquor, generally of a stronger kind than he would use but for *the restriction.*

GENERAL REMARKS.

Since the beginning of its history the course of Prohibition, in all its forms, has been the same. First the high hopes and enthusiasm of its supporters, coupled with the firm determination to carry out the law, arouses to vigilance; then the unpleasant, never-ending task of enforcing it causes reluctance to act; next the duty of prosecuting is left to officials, under whose care it gradually becomes a dead letter, as against the desire of man to be his own master on the question of gratifying his natural inclination for stimulants.

This revolt of nature against their aims does not receive due attention from Prohibitionists; and no matter how many instances are cited of the failure of the law in other places, their reply is to the effect that "if the law has not been successful in those places it is for the simple reason that it was not properly enforced; but we are more law-abiding; let us try the law and we will make it successful;" and when they have also tried it and failed, they are almost certain to attribute the failure to causes other than the true ones. Their faith in the principles of Prohibition remains unchanged, let the reasons for the failure be ascribed to what they may.

In fine, legislative attempts to banish intoxicating liquors are wrong, because such attempts withdraw attention from the duty of home education, which is the best source of temperance reform. As the Spartans taught the youth of their country the virtue of moderation by pointing out the degrading consequences of the excessive indulgence in liquor, so should children in our time be taught self control, self-reliance and self-respect, and thus by facing and overcoming the difficulties they meet, instead of taking refuge in flight, they would become qualified to go into the world and fight the battle of life without needing grandmotherly legislation for their protection.

EXAGGERATIONS.

Having met Prohibitionists on their own ground, by *assuming that the use of* intoxicating liquors is the evil they *represent it to be, it has* now been shown that the remedy

they advocate is ineffectual, even where it has been tried under the most favorable conditions. But it may well be claimed that the evil they fight against is greatly exaggerated by them.

Johnson said to Boswell, in effect, that to frighten people about the effects of drunkenness would make a deeper impression upon them than reasoning with them would, and Prohibitionists act in the belief of the same fact. One of their themes is the adulteration of liquors, and they give it to be understood that even the simplest and cheapest kinds contain poisonous ingredients. The National Temperance Society once published a pamphlet called "The History and Mystery of a Glass of Ale," in which it was stated that brewers use strychnia, tobacco, copperas, coculus, aloes, quassia, bicarbonate of soda, bicarbonate of lime, and other poisons and drugs, in making beer. It is an answer to this charge to say that the State Board of Health of New York, under authority of law, caused 476 samples of malt liquors to be analyzed during the year 1885, and found all of them to be pure and free from any deleterious substances whatever. It may be said that exaggerations constitute the greater part of the building materials with which Prohibitionists work, and we give two or three other instances.

In the fall of 1884 the Executive Committee of the Prohibition party of New York State announced that 375,000 copies of a certain leaflet had then been issued and circulated. In this leaflet it was stated that the number of drinkers of intoxicating liquors in the United States was 25,000,000, of whom 7,000,000 were immoderate drinkers, and that, besides these 7,000,000 there were 1,000,000 drunkards. Assuming the population at the date to which this estimate refers to have been, in round numbers, 50,000,000, of this number 30,000,000 must have been minors under 21 years of age, leaving 20,000,0000 as the number of adults; so that, according to this leaflet, not only all the men (including, of course, Prohibitionists themselves) and women throughout the nation, but some millions of children also, were drinkers of intoxicating liquors. *But it is* well known that only a small number of *women and children* drink intoxicating liquors; and as a large

number of men totally abstain, the number of drinkers should have been stated as about 7,000,000, of whom not one-twentieth part are immoderate drinkers, and not one per cent. are habitual drunkards. If this estimate of the number of drunkards is doubted, let the reader analyze the question for himself by taking the number of drunkards living in his own locality and comparing it with the total population of that locality.

The quantity and cost of liquors drunk annually have also been magnified.* In a well-known book, written by Dr. Hargreaves, and published by the National Temperance Society, it is stated, in reference to the year 1887, that "the cost for drinks was nearly one-sixth of the value of the manufactures of the United States in that year, which was $4,232,325,422." He puts the cost of drink for that year at $619,000,000, of which amount he says $556,000,000 were for domestic distilled and fermented liquors; and yet, as he himself shows, the manufacturers' value of these liquors was for that year only $94,000,000. To make out this one-sixth he inflated this $94,000,000 manufacturers' value to the sum of $556,000,000, although the $4,232,000,000 which he gives as the total value of manufactures at manufacturers' cost prices he leaves without inflation. If he had not inflated any values, or if he had inflated the total value of manufactures in the same proportion that he did the $94,000,000, he would have found that instead of the cost of drink being nearly one-sixth of the value of the total manufactures of the United States in the year 1870, it would have been less than one forty-fifth part of such total value.

During the last Presidential election a chart was extensively published in family newspapers, in circulars, and by conspicuous posters, placing our annual drink-bill at $900,000,000,† and comparing with it, among other items, our bread-bill at $505,000,000, and our meat bill at $304,000,000. This item of $900,000,000 for drink was inflated from tables

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* For one of the ablest polemical pamphlets that has issued from the American press, *see "The Nation's Drink-Bill,"* by Gallus Thomann. From the exhaustive works of that *author the writer of this pamphlet* has derived much assistance.

†*Mr. Talmage, in his sermon of* June 13, 1886, put the annual drink-bill at $1,500,000,000.

which show that the total cost value of our distilled, malt and vinous liquors is $144,000,000 only.

It seems impossible for these Prohibitionist statisticians to write about the expense of the liquor traffic without indulging in ballooning; a few hundreds of millions of dollars are then of little account with them, provided those hundreds of millions tend to expand the bill of indictment. But when they try to deal with the expenses of such substantial matter-of-fact materials as bread and meat, one would expect them to come down from the clouds to firm earth and give us reliable facts; and they encourage us to believe that they have done so, for in these bread and meat bills they give not only the round hundreds of millions, but the odd millions also. Now, one would think that their specific finding in each of these two bills was based on very exact data, but when we itemize this annual bread-bill of $505,000,000 we find that it allows every inhabitant to expend for bread only about nineteen cents per week, and in like manner we find that the $304,000,000 for meat allows every inhabitant to expend scarcely twelve cents per week, making the combined bread and meat bill for every individual only thirty-one cents per week, while the $900,000,000 drink-bill allows every one of the 7,000,000 liquor drinkers to expend about $2.50 on his liquor per week, which amount is eight times as great as that allowed for his bread and meat. For the purposes of such a comparison as will suit the purpose the expenditure on liquor is so exaggerated and the expenditure on bread and meat is so moderated as to render the comparison worthless, except for its effect upon those who do not examine the question. No better evidence could be given of the plasticity of figured results than the above, except where Prohibitionists excel themselves in stating that the direct and indirect cost of liquor to the people of the United States amounted to $2,500,000,000, annually. There is no evidence offered, no data given, on which to found this fabulous estimate of $2,500,000,000. These figures seem to have been drawn from the imagination, and from the same source might just as easily have been made ten times as great as they have been. Possibly it was thought that a great array of figures would be

more difficult to comprehend, and therefore would be borne in upon the minds of the unthinking with greater effect. Certainly there was no restraint from further inflation through regard for truth, for they say also that by far the greater part of this vast sum is lost to circulation, and is destroyed as effectually as if it had perished by fire or flood.

If such statements and exaggerations as these, made by the exponents of Prohibition, are to be taken as the measure of their veracity, their claim to credibility must be set aside.

EXTENT OF THE TRAFFIC.

The following reliable table shows the average yearly consumption of spirituous liquors per capita of population in various countries in litres, the litre being a little more than a quart:—

	Spirits. Litres.	Wines. Litres.	Beer. Litres.
Canada	3.08	0.29	8.50
Norway	3.90	1.00	15.30
United States	4.79	2.64	31.30
Great Britain and Ireland	5.39	2.59	143.90
Austria-Hungary	5.76	22.40	28.40
France	7.28	119.20	21.10
Russia	8.08	Unknown	4.65
Sweden	8.44	0.36	11.00
German Zollverein	3.60	6.00	65.00
Belgium	9.20	3.70	169.20
Switzerland	15.30	55.00	37.50
Netherlands	9.87	2.57	27.00
Denmark	18.90	1.00	33.30

From this table it will be seen that Americans drink less spirits than the people of Great Britain, or of Austria, France, Russia, Sweden, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, the Netherlands or Denmark, in proportion to population; less wine than Austria, France, Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland, and less beer than Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland and Denmark. We have the reputation of being great whisky drinkers, yet only Canada and Norway consume less. Now, if we are in such a bad way from liquor drinking that a National party thinks it is a duty to rescue us by force in spite of *ourselves, what is* to become of the Swiss, who drink more

than three times as much spirits per inhabitant as we drink, more than twenty times as much wine, and more beer also, and yet are free from any attempt at coercive restraint? Are we so much less qualified to enjoy liberty of choice than they are? Then look at the Danes and Belgians. Those peoples, according to Prohibitionist theories, should be the most criminal, the most afflicted with insanity and pauperism, the most degenerate and demoralized, of any people on earth, yet statistics do not verify those theories. We said most, but we must except the Scotch,* for the Scotch enjoy the bad pre-eminence of being the greatest of whisky drinkers. The English drink beer, but the Scotch drink fiery usquebaugh, a liquor which their ancestors, for hundreds of years past, drank; but that people have not as yet shown any noticeable signs of physical or of mental degeneracy. On the contrary, they continue to be noted for their industry, frugality, self-reliance, intelligence and freedom from crime, and for their physical and mental powers. Compare with them the Italians, the Spaniards or the Portuguese, who are, and whose ancestors for many centuries past continuously were, very temperate, and it will be found that, besides their temperance, those Italians, Spaniards, and Portuguese possess but few qualities to render them worthy of comparison with the Scotch.

Not only do Prohibitionists exaggerate the evils which flow from the use of intoxicating liquors, but by their methods they cause greater evils than those they try to suppress. One of these new evils is their

DISHONEST LEGISLATION.

Every agitation for the suppression of the liquor traffic is supported by numbers of men who have the reputation of being honest, who would scorn to lay a finger on the property of others for their own purposes, and yet actively support the passing and enforcing of a law which deprives many citizens

* According to Prohibitionists, Scotland should be a den full of criminals, of insane people, of indolent paupers, and of wretchedness. Do the facts bear out their theory? If not, are we so much less worthy of self-control than the Scotch, that law should regulate us in what we are to drink?

of their occupations, and destroys the value of their property without providing any compensation for their losses. With us the time is out of joint on this question. When a local-option or permissive bill was before a recent session of the British Parliament, that honest Quaker, John Bright, opposed it, and subsequently, at a temperance gathering, he gave the following as one of the reasons for his opposition:—

"In the cities of Manchester and Birmingham, for instance, there are about 4,000 houses connected with the sale of intoxicating drinks. I may say, without being perfectly accurate, that these 4,000 houses are occupied by something like 4,000 persons and families, but in the bill which was before Parliament there was no consideration of the interests of those 4,000 families, there was no valuation provided for, there was no compensation offered or suggested; the plan was too much of what you might call root-and-branch reform. The publicans and licensed victualers, wherever you got a majority, were to be exterminated as if they were vermin. Now, I don't think a policy of this kind in any country—I am sure not in this country, when it is fairly examined—will be thought to be statesman-like or just. I am against dealing with a question of this nature, affecting the interest of so many people, by what may be called a whirlwind on a calm day, or by conduct that is fit only for revolution. I should like to deal with it in a more just, and what I call a more statesman-like, manner, according to the legislation that becomes an intelligent people in a tranquil time. Well, now, these are grounds which presented themselves to my mind so strongly that, while wishing success to all reasonable efforts for promoting temperance, I was unable to support that bill."

To what extent have we acted upon a like sense of justice? Of the many States that have enacted Prohibitory laws, and of the many States where local option prevails, not one has ever made the slightest provision for giving compensation.

This flagrant conduct Prohibitionists try to justify by various untenable arguments. They say they carry the law by a majority, and the majority must rule. But it may be answered *that there are rights, such* as the rights of life and limb, the

rights of conscience and of liberty, which no majority, however great it may be, has a right to invade, without a just cause for so doing, nor in the case of property without making good the loss.

They say the rights of the individual must give way to the rights of society. But society is composed of individuals, and if one man's property can be rendered valueless without compensation, through a law enacted by his fellow-citizens on the pretext of the good of society, another man's property might also be rendered valueless on a similar pretext, and the question might ultimately arise as to what man's property is safe from socialistic and anarchial principles.

They say: "We have not enacted the law without giving fair warning; those engaged in the liquor trade have known for years what they might expect, and they should have gone out of the business years ago." But it may be asked: Are people to govern themselves by what may or may not occur, on the supposition that there is no doubt that it will occur, and could they, even if they knew Prohibition would take place, have taken to some other occupation, or adapted their property to any other business without great loss? What would be thought of the defense of socialists and anarchists if they were to say, "Land owners and capitalists suffer no injustice, for we warned them of what was coming."

They say that they are justified in suppressing liquor-shops because they are nuisances. Nuisances may be defined to be things which are injurious to the health, or offensive to the sight, smell or hearing of the public. Nuisances are repellent, but the complaint made against saloons by Prohibitionists themselves is that they are so attractive as to render men only too willing to resort thither voluntarily. They say there is no use of our trying to reform the drinking habits of some people if there is a saloon at hand, for they can't resist the temptation to resort thither. To compare saloons to nuisances, then, is a false analogy; and even if it were not, justice requires that nuisances such as glue factories, boiler-shops and other *kinds of* business which had become established in localities *where they* become nuisances through increase of population

should not be abated by law without compensation to the proprietors.

They refer to the emancipation of slaves without compensation to their owners as a precedent; but the abolition of slavery was a war measure. Slavery was criminal in depriving human beings of their liberty, without any cause on their part; yet the British Government paid $100,000,000 as compensation to the slave owners of her distant West Indian Colonies, and if emancipation had taken place in the United States during a time of peace, thousands of millions of dollars would have been justly paid to the slave owners by way of compensation.

Let the excuse be what it may, the fact remains, that, although it is one of the fundamental duties of the Government to protect every citizen in the enjoyment of his property, and although the Federal Constitution expressly provides that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation," yet hundreds of thousands of people have been deprived of occupations which throughout all previous history had been recognized and protected by law, and hundreds of millions of dollars invested in property have been rendered valueless by Prohibitionist legislation without one dollar of compensation to any one man of that class whose ruin was fully expected as a direct result of the law. Legislatures are undergoing a moral decadence on this question. Liquor merchants are treated as if they were outlaws without legal rights. The State of Ohio, having exacted large sums from the liquor dealers, years ago, under authority of her first Scott Act law, which the Supreme Court afterwards declared to be unconstitutional, refuses to return the money, or even to enable those who paid to set off their claims against the further sums imposed by her subsequent liquor laws. Duty called upon her to perform an act of honesty towards her own citizens, but she disobeyed the call, although if the same question had been litigated by one citizen against another in her courts that simple act of justice would have been compelled. Towards the Legislature the eyes of every intelligent

citizen are turned, and, therefore, if for no other reason, it should set an example of rectitude. If dishonesty prevails there, what is to be looked for among the people? Can proper obedience to laws be expected from the governed when the governing power whence those laws emanate is itself not in accord with, and even violates, the principles which good laws inculcate? The extent to which such legislation is responsible for the loose ideas of right and wrong, which are only too prevalent, the Allwise alone knows; but that it has a disastrous effect, no reasonable man can doubt.

Hand in hand with the plain devil who actuates such conduct goes the anomaly of

SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS

with which Prohibitionists are imbued. This self-righteousness was noticed by Justice Bramwell in his book on drink, as follows: "There are some opinions entertained as honestly, as strongly, and after as much thought as the opinions to the contrary, but which, nevertheless, are put forth in an apologetic way, as if those who hold them were doing wrong and knew it. This apologetic style exists in some cases where the opinion entertained is righteous, just, moral, and in conformity with the practice of all mankind. It exists where those who hold the contrary opinion say and are permitted by their opponents to say, 'We are the righteous, the good, the virtuous, and you are the wicked, the bad, the vicious.' This is what the total abstainers say of themselves and of those who don't agree with them. As I think my opinion is as good and virtuous as theirs, with the additional merit of being right, I shall state, without asking pardon for it or for myself, that drink is a good thing, and that the world would act very foolishly to give it up, for by the pleasure and utility of its use it does an immense deal more good than harm."

Archdeacon Farrar took exception to the statement that teetotalers say of themselves, "We are the righteous, the good, the virtuous, and you are the wicked, the bad, the vicious," saying: "I would respectfully ask Lord Bramwell who has ever said this? Can he out of reams of temperance

literature adduce a single sentence to that effect? I have never heard anything even distantly approaching such a statement. There is not a single reasonable advocate of temperance who would not regard so pharisaic and uncharitable a judgment as perfectly detestable." But hold, Mr. Farrar! You are evidently behind the times. Come to America during a so-called "Temperance campaign," and you may then listen to Sunday sermons in which Prohibitionists are styled "the Christians and true moralists," and their opponents are referred to as "ignorant, mercenary apostles of Bacchus, sellers of their birthright, sinners, sots, anti-Christians, devilish," etc. Many Prohibitionists, relying on this self-righteousness, glory in the reputation they have for powers of abuse towards their opponents. A clergyman has been heard to begin an oration in favor of Prohibition with the statement that he would give Gospel to the audience, and then follow up that promise with such intemperance of language and of manner, and by making such misstatements as to justify the remark that if such principles are Gospel the God of that Gospel is the devil, and the orator is his prophet.

LEGALIZED TYRANNY.

The object of criminal laws is to deter the evil-disposed, and it is the care of the qualified legislator to adapt the punishment to the nature of the offense. The object of Prohibition is not only to deter from the drinking of intoxicating liquors, but to put an end to it, and therefore the penalties are out of all proportion to the nature of the offense. Justice, tempered with mercy, is not a quality of Prohibitory laws. Years ago General Dow stated that the traffic must be declared to be felonious* before it could be stamped out, and in every stronghold of Prohibition, from Maine to Kansas, they seem to approximate to that position. In Maine, at almost every sitting of the Legislature during the past 35 years, the stringency of

* Like Jack Cade, though with a different object in view, Mr. Dow "would make it felony to drink small beer." The ludicrous idea of the poet tends towards becoming a grim *reality. When that pass will* have arrived, the crisis will be upon us. Only let some man *be executed for the heinous* offense of selling a glass of lager-beer, and it will then be for *the long-suffering many* to agitate for the suppression of the Prohibitionists.

the law has been increased, until the severity of the penalties makes human nature recoil from aiding in the infliction of them, and thus the venom of the Act carries its own antidote.

In Kansas, a physician is not allowed to prescribe wine for his prostrated patient unless he knows, not that, according to his judgment, it was advisable to do so, but that, as a matter of fact, such prescription is necessary; and unless he can prove this on his trial, he is to be found guilty of a misdemeanor, and punished by a fine of from $100 to $500, coupled with imprisonment in the county jail for a term of not less than ten and not more than ninety days.

Kansas has been "educated up" to the point, not only of carrying on a social war of one class of its citizens against another class, but, by means of legislative brute force, of driving its own officers into the advanced positions of the battle-field, for the same act provides that all Sheriffs and Constables, Marshals, Police Judges and police officers, having any notion or knowledge of any violations of the Act, must notify the County Attorney of the fact and furnish the names of all witnesses, within their knowledge, by whom the violation can be proven; and in default of such notice to the County Attorney the penalty is forfeiture of office, coupled with a fine of from $100 to $10,000. And if any County Attorney be notified, it shall be his duty diligently to prosecute any and all persons so violating the Act, and if he shall fail, neglect, or refuse, faithfully to perform such duty, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction, shall forfeit his office, be fined $100 and upwards, and be imprisoned in the county jail from ten to ninety days.

The severity of the penalties imposed upon the liquor sellers by this Kansas Act can be judged of by the recent sentence of an offending druggist's clerk to a fine of $20,800, coupled with imprisonment for the term of seventeen years and four months in the common jail!

May it not well be asked where is that other civilized community on the statute-books of which there exist such tyrannical *laws.*

That law merely expresses the spirit which actuates Pro-

hibitionists. In Iowa they have assailed the majesty of the law by trying to degrade its highest administrators. An attempt has been made by a Temperance Alliance, at the instigation of a clergyman, to remove a Judge by impeachment, without stating any more specific act of malfeasance than that "he has shamefully refused to apply the law directing the abatement of grog-shops as nuisances." The Judge has defended himself from this attack on his judicial integrity, saying: "No case was ever presented to me, and probably never to a court in this district at any time, by any Grand Jury or any other body, power or person that sought to execute the abatement provision of this statute, or upon which a judgment of abatement could, under any circumstances, have been rendered."

Can justice poise impartial scales where the Legislature and a portion of the people try to distort the mental vision of the Judges and executive officers by threats of impeachment, of fines, imprisonment and forfeiture of office?

VIOLENCE OF PROHIBITIONISTS.

The opinion of philosophers, that temperance in all things is the foundation of every virtue, does not influence the conduct of Prohibitionists. With them the virtue necessary for the covering of a multitude of sins is enforced teetotalism. Moral suasion, which blesses both him who persuades and him who is persuaded, vanishes when the purpose for which it should be used is sought to be attained by means of unmerciful cast-iron laws and of the employment of physical force.

Prohibitionists declare that the drinking of intoxicating liquors is "the crime of crimes," and therefore that they are justified in trying to put it down by every means in their power. Hence their leaders never utter a word of disapproval when they hear of the excesses committed by their co-workers. On what ground could they express their disapproval? Their wild and whirling words, their distortion of facts, and their abusive oratory sow broadcast that unchristian bitterness which germinates in crime. Would the Divine Founder of *Christianity,* the gentle friend of the publicans and sinners, *have sanctioned in* the apostles the outrageous conduct in which

these men indulge? In order that what they may be said to call "the supreme good" may be extended to an unwilling and worthless few, they try to subvert that Darwinian law of nature, the survival of the fittest, by degrading the worthy many, on this drink question, to the condition of moral childhood, and by placing over them monitors selected from that ill-qualified class of mankind which is willing to act as professional informers. Such is the despotic power given to these hireling masters, that the freeman's proud boast of his dwelling-house being his castle cannot be indulged in where that incubus called Prohibition reigns. For we know by bitter experience that the home of the citizen, which should be the cradle, and also the last refuge, of our liberty, is liable to be invaded with impunity by legally protected ruffians,* at any hour of the day or night, as if we were not worthy to enjoy that liberty which our ancestors won for us with such an expenditure of blood and treasure.

What an inconsistency that such a state of things is allowed to exist in the land of the free; and what an anomaly that its supporters should be called "the Christians and true moralists," when their morality consists in doing wrong to the many that good may come perchance to a few, and their Christianity is evinced in praying that the Divine blessing may be conferred upon moral thuggism and legalized villainy.

The Prohibitionists are the authors of all this violence, for they are the wanton aggressors; those whose liberty and occupations and property and lives they assail, simply obey the first law of nature, self-defense, a law founded on that animal instinct which the poet depicts so vividly in the following lines:

> "To whom do lions cast their gentle looks?
> Not to the beast that would usurp their den.
> Whose hand is that the forest bear doth lick?
> Not his that spoils her young before her face.
> Who 'scapes the deadly serpent's mortal sting?
> Not he who sets his foot upon her back.
> The smallest worm will turn, being trodden on,
> And doves will peck in safeguard of their brood."†

* *For some outrageous instances of the conduct of some of these monitors, the reader is referred to the address recently issued by the Independent Republicans of Polk County, Iowa.*

† *Third Part* Henry VI., Act ii., Scene 2.

Acting upon this instinct, the assailed combine, in order to oppose force by force; and misconstruing this result of their own conduct, Prohibitionists become still more aggressive. Thus citizen becomes arrayed against citizen to such an extent as to make the quarrel, at times, culminate in bloodshed and crime, and constrain the bystander to exclaim, O Temperance! what outrages are committed in thy name.*

CRIME CAUSED BY PROHIBITION.

It is said that during the early ages music and poetry were introduced among some of the fierce Grecian tribes for the purpose of taming their savage breasts, and that those refining branches of education had the desired effect. Is it not reasonable, then, to suppose that the discord caused by an unjust and tyrannical law, which for its enforcement necessitates and fosters espionage, deception, social hypocrisy and unchristion bitterness throughout the State should school the people in crime? The records of the State of Maine answer this question in the affirmative. Irrespective of the liquor traffic, the number of crimes committed in that State should have gradually decreased during the past thirty-six years, because the floating and comparatively lawless population of lumber-men has decreased, boundary lines have become settled, neighbors are better acquainted with each other, and can better afford to waive their legal rights without litigation. Yet in Maine, during the 24 years next before the passing of the Prohibitory law—that is, from 1827 to 1851,—there were only 2,026 persons committed to the State Penitentiary, or an average of 81 for each year. The record for the next 30 years—that is, from 1852 to 1882—shows that under Prohibition the large number of 4,157 persons was commited to the same penitentiary, or an average of 134 for each year. During these 30 years the population had increased only one-third of one per cent. per year. During the same 30 years criminal acts of a heinous nature had increased over 200 per cent. This increase of crimes,

* Since the close of our civil war nothing has caused so much bloodshed among us *as misnamed temperance, and yet* this violence is unavailing against the liquor traffic. In *England, under other influences,* the amount of liquor consumed is gradually decreasing. *In America, notwithstanding* Prohibition, it is constantly increasing.

especially crimes of the most serious nature, arrested the attention of the State Legislature, and the death penalty (which had previously been abolished) was re-imposed in 1882 with the expectation that the crime of murder would be checked; but the re-imposition of the penalty failed in its object, for the Attorney-General of that State, in his report for the year 1884, stated, "The convictions for murder in the first degree during the year 1884 are in excess of previous years." During that year 14 men and women had been engaged in murdering their fellow-citizens, and some of these murders were the most inexcusable of any committed in any State of the Union. The report of the Prison Inspectors of Maine for 1884 states: "According to the records of the prisons and jails of our State, it will be seen that a large amount of crime has been committed within the State during the year. Many theories prevail as to the cause of crime. We write from personal observation that the principal cause of crime is the lack of good home influence and education." This lack of good home influence in Maine, we say, comes of the reliance her citizens have long placed on the broken reed of external enactments; of looking to the Legislature to do for them what every man ought to do for himself; of letting the fear of harsh legal measures supplant the pleasure-giving and refining sources of moral action, and thereby destroying domestic* and social happiness, blunting the mental perception of right and wrong and brutalizing the people. If Prohibitionists refuse to accept this explanation as a solution of the difficulty of accounting for the increase of crime in Maine, we submit that they are thrown into a dilemma, for then they must either admit that liquor drinking does not instigate from three-fourths to nine-tenths of all crimes, as they have hitherto asserted, or they must admit that the increase of crime is caused by the increase of liquor drinking in that Prohibition State.

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* Prohibitionists say that liquor drinking causes domestic unhappiness. Maine and Vermont, however, have a higher proportion of divorces to marriages than many of the other States have.

POVERTY IN MAINE.

The money argument has always been a favorite one with Prohibitionists. They bemoan the people's expenditure on liquor, as if the accumulation of money should be the object of our existence, instead of being merely the means of our enjoyment. As to their money argument, let us meet them on their own ground. Mr. Dow claims that the people of Maine save at least $12,000,000 in direct cost, and an equal amount in indirect cost, making $24,000,000 saved annually, which, but for Prohibition, would be spent and lost in strong drink. "This large saving," he says, "is seen everywhere throughout the State in the vastly improved condition of the people, and in the healthy and vigorous expansion of all our industries." As this saving should have existed during the past thirty-six years, the amount saved in this way should be $864,000,000, and if this sum were equally distributed among the 648,945 citizens of Maine, every man, woman and child should possess money or its equivalent to the amount of $1,330, making more by $6,650 for every family of five persons than such family would have owned but for the Maine law. A stranger going through the State of Maine would not see evidence of this immense wealth; neither the dwelling-houses nor the farms show improvements superior, or even equal, to the dwellings or farms of other States. If the condition of the people is so vastly improved, why is the population at a standstill? With an immense area of sparsely settled land, with such undeveloped resources as Maine possesses, and with such a "vigorous expansion of all her industries," should there not be a rapid influx of population and other visible results of this pretentious claim to wealth? The fact is, their boasted wealth has no existence. To prove this, let us take the United States census and compare Maine with other States. Maine being a New England State, the comparison most applicable will be with those New England States which are not under Prohibitory laws, and present *nearly the same geographical* features that she does—namely, *Massachusetts, Connecticut* and Rhode Island. The laws re-

lating to taxation in all the New England States are very similar, so that the following figures may be regarded as founded on an equal basis. In Maine the assessed personal property per head is $95; in Connecticut, $197; in Rhode Island, $232; in Massachusetts, $265. There is no trace here of the extra millions saved annually. Taking the owners of Government bonds and the average value held by each, we find as follows:—

	Male Holders.	Holding Each.	Female Holders.	Holding Each.	Total Population.
Maine,.....	1,005	$2,759	706	$1,693	648,936
Connecticut.....	1,336	4,643	1,031	2,609	622,531
Massachusetts....	9,135	3,475	7,720	1,734	1,783,085

Lest it should be said that these figures do not represent the working people whom Prohibitionists say are especially benefited by their laws, let us take the holders of $500 and less. Maine has 693 of these holders, Connecticut 719, Massachusetts 7,244. Leaving the search for individual wealth, let us turn to the manufacturing establishments and we find the increase in number, by per cent., between 1850 and 1880, is the following:—

	Per Cent.
Maine.....	13
Rhode Island.....	155
Connecticut	20
Massachusetts.....	62

There is no evidence of superior wealth in all this.

Manufactured Products.	Increase. Per Cent.
Maine.....	229
Rhode Island.....	372
Connecticut..	294
Massachusetts.....	302

DEBT OF MAINE.

Leaving this branch of inquiry, let us look for this immense treasure in the coffers of the Commonwealth, which ought to contain some part of it. During the last census *decade the net* debt of Maine increased 37 per cent.; that of *Connecticut,* 29 per cent.; Massachusetts, 33 per cent.; or,

stating this increase in dollars per capita, Maine's debt increased $8 per head, that of Connecticut $3.50 per head, and Massachusetts' $3.70 per head. The citizens of Maine are taxed 45 cents on the $100 of their assessment; in Connecticut the rate is only 15 cents per $100, in Rhode Island the same, and in Massachusetts only 3½ cents on the $100.

PAUPERISM.

It is a maxim of political and of social economy, that if we want to become wealthy ourselves, we should be surrounded with wealthy neighbors; but that principal does not seem to hold good in Maine, if her wealth is as great as represented; for, in number of paupers, Maine shows the worst record of any State in the Union. For example, see the following figures:—

	Population In 1880.	No. of Paupers In 1880.
Iowa	1,624,615	2,133
Indiana	1,978,301	3,965
Michigan	1,636,937	2,300
Minnesota	780,773	496
New Jersey	1,131,116	2,981
Maine	684,936	3,211

With a population of about one-fifth less than Minnesota has, Maine has more than six times as many paupers. With a population larger by almost a million than that of Maine, Iowa has only 2,133 paupers, or 1,078 less than Maine. Michigan exceeds Maine in population by nearly one million, but in number of paupers Maine exceeds Michigan by 911. This poor condition of the citizens of Maine is caused by the Prohibitory law, which is responsible for the enormous expenditure of money in costs and charges rendered necessary in the enforcing of the law; for the loss of revenue which had previously been derived from the liquor traffic, and for the bitter social war which prevents her citizens from investing in public enterprises, promotes emigration and repels immigration, thereby *making that State the* most sparsely settled of any of the old *States.*

OTHER EVILS.

The census shows also that there is a greater proportion of people afflicted with insanity, idiocy, blindness, and other bodily defects, more suicides and a heavier death rate in Maine than in the liquor-selling States. From all this we deduce the truth, that Maine contains within herself the evidence on which is founded not only the surest refutation of the plausible claim made by Prohibitionists that their law promotes happiness, lessens crime and increases wealth, but even that the very reverse of their claim is the historical fact.

REVENUE FROM THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Prohibitionists condemn the spending of money on intoxicating liquors, as if that were equivalent to losing it; but when they come to speak of the national revenue of about $100,000,000, derived annually from the traffic, they change their tactics. Their grim fanaticism then gives way to clumsy humor. They ridicule such a small return as compared with the fabulous amount which they claim to be the annual expenditure on liquor, and among other things they represent those to whom they are opposed as appealing to them to spare the cow, the keeping of which costs $2,500,000,000 annually, because every year she produces a revenue calf worth $100,000,000. But this figure of speech is not complete, for they overlook the great quantities of milk produced by this mythical cow, and also her numerous progeny, distributed annually among those municipalities whence it is not driven by Prohibition. By killing this cow, we say, her keepers would prove themselves to be greater madmen than was the man who killed the goose that laid the golden egg; for national Prohibition would destroy her revenue progeny, and instead of the sustaining "milk for the aged" we now enjoy, there would be substituted what might be called tigers' milk from illicit stills and smugglers' ships, and our valuable liquor traffic would be to a large extent thrown into the hands of foreigners along our extensive frontier, without any compensation to us by way of trade.

Prohibitory plutocrats would do well to make some estimate of the enormous annual revenues that would be destroyed if that goal of their efforts, national Prohibition, were carried. The present revenue derived from the liquor traffic by New York City alone is over $1,250,000 annually. Take the sums collected annually by all the municipalities throughout the Union, then add the sum derived annually by those States which levy a State tax, add the $95,200,000 of excise customs revenue derived by the Federal Government, capitalize the gross aggregate amount of these incomes on the basis of three per cent., which is the rate of interest at which money can be borrowed by the Federal Government, and the result will be found to be more than three times the present amount of the national debt.* And rather than pass a national Prohibitory law, it would be better far that the Federal Government should borrow ten times the amount of the national debt, and having obtained possession of this vast sum, should then sink all of it in the ocean deeper than ever plummet sounded, for after this were done we would still escape evils of incalculable magnitude.

THE PERVERSION OF EDUCATION.

Was a more extraordinary fact ever witnessed in the history of education than the attempt now being made, with the sanction of the Legislatures of New Hampshire, Vermont, Michigan, New York, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Oregon, Alabama, Maine, Kansas, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Missouri, and North Carolina, to propagate among children in the public schools physiological errors respecting the effects of alcohol on the human system, and thereby subverting one of the fundamental objects of education. Through the influence of Prohibitionists a "compulsory temperance education law" has been passed in all of those States, and also by the Federal Legislature, with a like object for the Territories, and the influence

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* Total debt on December 1, 1887..... $1,675,816,660
Less Cash in Treasury..... 435,633,608

Net debt..... $1,240,183,052

which secured the passage of these laws sees to it that the scientific presentation of the subject inculcates positive error.

One of the experiments given for the purpose of illustrating, before the scholars, the direful effects of the liquor traffic is the precipitation of white of egg by means of alcohol, thereby "cooking it;" but the teacher must not inform them that tea is capable of producing precisely the same effect. Another illustration is the putting of a piece of raw flesh into pure alcohol, in order to show the effect of that liquor upon the human stomach; but the force of the illustration must not be detracted from by the statement that men's stomachs are never put to such a severe test; that a moderate use of alcohol aids digestion by promoting a flow of pepsine; or that, unlike raw flesh, the Allwise has wonderfully adapted that organ for the eliminating and overcoming of any unsuitable solid or liquid food that may have been partaken of. In *Our Message*, the organ of the Massachusetts Christian Temperance Union, one of the most powerful temperance societies in America, there occurs the following among the "tests" of acceptance of the text books: "The tone of the books should be to educate the sentiment of the young in favor of the strictest temperance."

"No suggestion that narcotics or stimulants may be safely used should be made to the young."

"Some of the books, while depicting the evil effects of the excessive use of alcohol on the system, so fail to set forth the danger attending all use of it as a beverage, so neglect to mark the insidious and cumulative effect which powerfully leads to its excessive use, and so contrive to abound in suggestions concerning its possible benefits as practically to encourage the habit of moderate drinking."

The same *Message* condemns by name certain books which do not fulfill these requirements; but the "Hygiene for Young People," and "The Child's Health Primer," both prepared by Prohibitionist clubs, are the compulsory books of these compulsory laws.

As the tendency of such teaching must be to prevent the *pupil from seeing* the facts aright, it may be claimed on this

ground also that Prohibition is a pernicious weed, which is grounded in ignorance, and fostered by falsehoods.

PROPER RULE OF CONDUCT.

Est modus in rebus sunt certi denique fines quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum. ("There is a rule of conduct; there are, in fact, certain boundaries, on this side and on that, of which we go astray.")

Such was the golden mean of the ancients. And if the same rule had always been practiced by us respecting the use of fermented and spirituous liquors it would have been much better for the welfare of our citizens. Comparatively few among us use liquor to excess. The men composing that few are sufficiently punished by and for that excess. They employ no coercive means to compel others to do as they do. On the contrary, their example deters others; yet the error of this few is made the pretext by Prohibitionists for going to the other extreme, and applying coercive legislation, not only to remedy that error, but to commit the greater error of trying to restrain the moderate drinker also from all use of intoxicating liquors; so that we see this strange anomaly that no nation is subjected to such impertinent tyranny as we are on a question of diet wherein every man ought to be his own best judge, and yet we claim to be the most liberty-loving people on earth. The Czar of Russia, with all his despotism, would not dare to issue a ukase embodying such provisions as our Prohibitory liquor laws do, nor would he attempt to do so on a subject which is so well known by statesmen to be beyond the proper sphere of legislation.

SUMMARY OF MISTAKES.

We conclude with the following brief statements:—

1. Prohibitionists claim that their law must be successful wherever the moral sentiment of a large majority of the people is in its favor; but even there the self-imposed duty of seeing to its enforcement eventually becomes repulsive, spasmodic, evanescent and fruitless as against the natural inclination of *men for such stimulants* as intoxicating liquors are.

2. *They are not* aware of the good effect a proper use of